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PONCE DE LEÓN'S FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH: HISTORY OF A GEOGRAPHICAL MYTH

The history of America begins, like that of the Ancient World, with legends in which it is not easy to recognize the exact proportion of reality and imagination. The legends connected with the discovery of North America, and particularly of the territory of the United States, concern on the one hand the pre-Columbian ventures of Norsemen to Vinland, and on the other hand the enterprise of Ponce de León in search of the Fountain of Youth.

It is comprehensible that the legendary elements of such narratives have been emphasized and embellished in a number of stories of more popular character, embodying pride in regional traditions, or promoting the worship of local glories. The Boston statue of Leif Ericson, leader of the Norsemen who are supposed to have landed on the Massachusetts shore, stands upon an artificial pedestal of scholarly conjectures. Seen from the top of Florida's church-towers, all springs of that country may appear as Ponce's famous fountain.

In the case of Vinland modern scholars are more and more inclined to recognize in the self-sown wheat and self-grown grapevines of that place the last Nordic ramifications of literary traditions going back to classical topics of antique poetry and erudition.¹ Undoubtedly the Norsemen coming from Greenland may have reached the Arctic shores of the Amer-

¹ This was proved first by Fridtjof Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, New York, 1911. Cf. the more recent contributions of I. Th. Honti, "Vinland and Ultima Thule," in *Modern Language Notes*, LVI (March, 1939), and the review of the book of A. W. Broger, *Vinlands Ferden* (Oslo, 1937), published in the *Göttinger Gelehrter Anzeiger*, CCII (1939), pp. 53 *et seq.*

ican continent, but the flourishing wheat and the luxuriant grapes described in the accounts of their adventures belong to the same kind of literary antecedents that made Columbus hear nightingales in the forests of Haiti, or Pigafetta discover giants in Patagonia.

But there is a substantial difference between Ponce's legendary fountain and all the marvellous things mentioned in the reports of the travellers who first landed on this continent. In fact, these wonders are frequently the product of their misinterpretation of actual experiences, more or less fanciful illusions influenced by poetic images of an ideal nature, and of exotic countries. Expecting to see strange, rare, and marvellous things, they sometimes projected into an unfamiliar environment what previously existed in their minds.

But in spite of all the springs of Florida that actually bear his name, neither Ponce nor anyone of his companions ever found the fountain of youth for the sake of which they set out on so dangerous and expensive an expedition. In other words: even if Tyrker the German (as related in the Saga of Eric the Red) became drunk merely from sucking the chubby grapes of Vinland, nobody was indebted to a wonder-working Florida spring for a rejuvenating cure. Therefore, this unsuccessful expedition of the Spaniards of Puerto Rico must be connected with the numerous enterprises of this kind that were promoted, ever since the mythical epoch of the Argonauts, by the tenacious belief in prodigies and curiosities hidden in legendary islands.²

Although we must reduce to proper proportions the influence that a fabulous tale may have had on the decision of such a rude, reckless but circumspect adventurer, nevertheless all attempts to belittle the contribution of the legendary element of Ponce de León's enterprise run counter to the irrefutable evidence of an attested historical tradition.³ Certainly, it may appear rather difficult to understand that such a man should have wasted a large part of his considerable fortune in an

² Cf. the Author's *Storia letteraria delle Scoperte Geografiche* (Firenze, 1937), pp. 34 et seq.

³ The documents concerning Ponce's expeditions and the legend of Bimini have been collected and commented by T. F. Davis, "Juan Ponce de León's Voyage to Florida," in *The Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, XIV (July, 1935), pp. 1-70.

expedition designed to catch the waters of a fabulous spring. But the historical problem lies just in this fact, and it cannot be solved by references to the supposed credulity and artlessness of the first chroniclers of America. Aside from the fact that they were generally well informed, they definitely are inclined to give a rational explanation of the events related. As we shall see, this applies in our case, too, and we are justified in supposing that in this way we have lost much of the knowledge of the temper and feelings prevailing in the conquests and adventures of the age of discovery.

Thus we can trust without hesitation the account of facts that may appear unusual and unlikely, but the explanation of these must be sought outside of the strictly pragmatic history of voyages and colonization. Consequently, it cannot be our task to sweep aside or to try to refute the scanty remains of a vanished poetic history. On the contrary, we have to collect and coördinate them for a new critical examination.

For this reason it may be permissible to consider anew the passage—quoted many times before—in the *Decades of the New World* by Peter Martyr that contains the first account of Ponce's enterprise and that won credit everywhere for the story of the fountain of youth. In relating Ponce's first attempt to conquer Florida in 1513, Peter Martyr affirms that among the Lucayos or Bahamas "there is an island . . . named Boiuca or Agnaneo, in which there is a perennial spring of running water of such marvellous virtue, that the water thereof being drunk, perhaps with some diet, makes old men young again."⁴

Furthermore, reverting in his book to the same subject in another context, Peter Martyr specifies the pretended "marvellous virtue" of this water by recounting the incident of an islander "grievously oppressed with old age" who was reported "to have brought home manly strength and to have practised all manly exercises, and that he married again and begat children."⁵

⁴ Second decade, tenth book of Peter Martyr de Angleria's (d'Anghiera) *Decades de Orbe Novo* (Paris, 1587), p. 195. The English translation of the *Decades* by F. A. MacNutt (London, 1912), I, 274, is shorter than the original Latin text.

⁵ *De Orbe Novo*, the seventh decade, Book VII, Vol. II, p. 293 of F. A. Mac-

This is the only specific statement about the miraculous power of the fountain. It is important in revealing the real effect that was expected to follow from taking its water accompanied "with some diet." In fact, as we shall see below, all the various representations of the fountain of youth in the graphic arts of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance put into the foreground its unmistakable erotic and gallant significance. For this reason, in many paintings, miniatures and ivories of that period, we find a fountain among the properties of love-scenes or allegories displayed by the artists in an ideal landscape or in idyllic gardens of pleasure.

The poor savage of the West Indies who professed to have succeeded in the rejuvenating cure at Bimini or Florida was certainly not aware of this more or less secret symbolism of his European contemporaries. Thanks to the wonder-working fountain, he honestly went about begetting a family like the good-natured savage he was. But in so doing he betrayed to us what Ponce—a man in the fifties—and his companions were eager to regain in tasting the waters of the fountain of youth.

Another striking detail in Peter Martyr's description is found in his observation that the rejuvenating efficacy of the water might be increased by suitable diet. This opinion is advanced by the author as a conjecture, evidently with the purpose of transferring the miraculous power of the fountain of youth from fable to the field of medicine, *i.e.* from legend to fact. This tendency is typical of Peter Martyr who wrote his fundamental history of the first colonization of America in an ill-suited classical style, yet tried to draw his information from the best sources and to subject all accounts coming from the West Indies to the light of an inquiring criticism.

Since the whole question of the part played by this legend in the discovery of Florida depends on such second-hand narratives, more or less under the influence of literature, we need not discuss the reality or the unlikelihood of the facts in-

Nutt's English translation. In a long digression Peter Martyr collects different facts from ancient mythology and natural history in order to convince "the philosophers and doctors . . . sceptical of things like this."

volved, but only examine critically the form and manner in which they have been handed down by history and tradition.

There is no other record of anyone ever having used the legendary water for a rejuvenating treatment. It is evident therefore that the qualifying remark about the ameliorative effect of simultaneous diet must be attributed to Peter Martyr alone. He evidently had no doubt of the actual existence of the fountain and, confiding in the reliability of apparently authentic information, he gave the legend a rational and naturalistic interpretation.

Thus alone can we understand the accent of admonition in his account to Pope Leo X warning him "not to think this to be said lightly or rashly." "For," he continues, "they have so spread this rumor for a truth throughout all the court [*i.e.* of Spain], that not only all the people, but also many of them whom wisdom or fortune has divided from the common sort, think it to be true."

As we see, the court, the scholars, and the people of Spain were all convinced, soon after Ponce de León's first expedition, that the location of the fountain of youth was finally established, although according to a later account, no one of the ship's crew sent to discover and explore the legendary island of Bimini found the spring capable of restoring old men to youth. We cannot be sure whether Ponce de León's belief in the deceptive fable was shattered by this failure, or whether it still played a part in his second expedition of the year 1521. Unfortunately no trace has been found of the account given by Ponce to the king or to the royal officials during his stay in Spain less than a year after his discovery of Florida. But the name of the legendary island still occurs in the patent of King Ferdinand, dated Valladolid, September 26, 1514, giving Ponce license and authority for colonizing the islands of Beniny (Bimini) and of Florida.⁶

At any rate, the vision of the fountain of youth remained associated with the name and deeds of Ponce de León. In Herrera y Tordesilla's *Historia General de las Indias* he appears, at the end, as the man who in 1512 "went seeking that

⁶ Reprinted by T. F. Davis, *loc. cit.*

sacred fountain, so renowned among the Indians, and the river, whose water rejuvenated the aged.”⁷

In these words Herrera refers to his detailed account of the circumstances that stimulated Ponce’s first voyage, confirming Peter Martyr’s opinion that he was intent upon finding “the spring of Bimini and a river in Florida, the Indians of Cuba and Hispaniola affirming that old people bathing themselves in them, became young again.”⁸

These passages of the most complete and reliable chronicle of the Spanish colonization of the West Indies contain some important allegations which complete with new statements the simple and lucid report of Peter Martyr. As we have seen, it is not only the spring of running water that restores youth to the aged, but a river, never mentioned in the first accounts of Ponce’s voyages, whereas the fountain itself appears as a holy one, worshipped by the natives. Nevertheless, the old spring and the new river are interconnected as a symbol of Bimini and Florida, and as a decisive cause of their discovery of these places. Furthermore, we learn from Herrera for the first time that the Bimini tradition is an Indian myth, and accordingly, the oldest known North American legend of an autochthonous origin.

In fact we learn from him “that many Indians of Cuba, firmly believing that there was such a river, had, not long before the Spaniard discovered that island, passed over into Florida in quest of that river, and there built a town where the race of them continues to this day. This report prevailed with all the kings and caciques in those parts to endeavor to find out a river that wrought such a wonderful change as making old people young, so that there was not a river, or brook, nor scarce a lagune or puddle in all Florida but where they bathed themselves in, and there are some still that confide in seeking this mystery.”⁹

⁷ Dec. III, Lib. I, Cap. 14, Vol. II, p. 30, of the original edition (1605) containing the curious—evidently erroneous—version “*anduvo buscando aquella fuente Santatan, nombrada entre los Indios, y el rio, cuyas aguas remoçavan los viejos,*” instead of “*aquella fuente santa, tan nombrada. . .*”

⁸ Dec. I, Book IX, Cap. 12, Vol. III, p. 326, of the new edition of Herrera, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Indias . . .*, Madrid, 1934-35.

⁹ Herrera, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

We cannot agree with the most recent historian of the discovery of Florida in the supposition that the Indians may have invented the whole story in order to induce the Spaniards to leave.¹⁰ Sly as these natives may have been, it is inconceivable that a man of the experience and boldness of Ponce de León should have fallen into the trap. In any case, if the legend was of Indian origin, we should have to wonder at its having the power to induce the rich and experienced governor of Puerto Rico to hazard such an unusual adventure. But that is the very question that we have to clear up.

Antonio Herrera is the only one among the early historians of the West Indies to mention the "sacred fountain" as an object of widespread Indian veneration. His statements are noteworthy because of the care he took to draw his information from official documents as well as from authoritative sources. He did not, of course, dwell on the fable of the holy fountain, having been informed by the man that discovered Bimini that this island (probably the Andros of the Bahamas) contained no spring restoring youth to the aged.¹¹ Therefore Herrera directs the attention of the reader to the legendary river of Florida which some of his contemporaries believed to be the Jordan, so named by the Spaniards who discovered it at the point of St. Helena in the year 1520.¹²

But in reality, as we know, no trace of such a river has ever been found in Florida. We only gather from Herrera's report that legend of it had a more tenacious existence and was supported by a stronger historical tradition than the fountain of youth. The whole story of the first settlement of Cuban natives in Florida, and of kings and caciques thoroughly putting all the waters of the country to the test, bears the stamp of a fabulous and rather humorous tale.

We have, of course, no means of checking Herrera's account since indigenous traditions of the Indians of Cuba, Haiti and Puerto Rico perished concurrently with the extinction of these unfortunate tribes before the Spaniards had the interest and the time to collect them. In the few passages

¹⁰ T. F. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

devoted to West Indian folklore in the historical works of Bartolomé de las Casas or in the other chronicles of the sixteenth century, no evidence can be found for the existence of such a belief, or of the tradition related by Herrera.

Consequently, it is hardly possible to discover the genuine Indian background of the legend—if this ever really existed. On the other hand, it is easier to demonstrate that the occurrence of such a myth in the pre-Columbian epoch is rather improbable and that the whole story has a quite different origin and significance.

In Indian medicine, folklore, and magic, water does evidently play an important part as it does everywhere. Occasional curative effectiveness may have given empiric confirmation to the belief in its supernatural power—attributed, by Indian shamanism, to spirits dwelling within its depths.¹³ As water figures here and there among the principal objects of Indian worship, it is quite possible that the natives of the Antilles and the Bahamas shared these superstitions. Magical waters having the power of curing the sick and raising the dead are to be found here and there in Indian myths. But the idea of rejuvenating waters is unknown in American folklore. In the mythology of the Maori and of the South Sea Islanders it was believed that if the aged, on dying, went to bathe in such magical water they were restored to life.¹⁴

But it has been established that this conception originally drifted into Polynesia from the Asiatic, and especially the East Indian, culture area.¹⁵ It belongs, like similar waters of the pagan and biblical mythology, to the eschatological motives of the Oriental world and supposes a far higher standard of civilization, of religious imagination, and of spiritual refine-

¹³ This aspect of Amerindian veneration of water is especially studied by O. G. Brinton, *The Myths of the New World* (New York, 1868), pp. 84 *et seq.* and 128 *et seq.*; then by Ellen Russell Emerson, *Indian Myths* (Boston, 1884), and finally by Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Precolumbian America* (London, 1924). Cf. Sh. Mathews and G. B. Smith, *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1923), p. 471. More recent studies about Indian beliefs and magic do not especially consider this particular aspect, but works dealing with the Pueblo Indians emphasize the rôle of water in their customs and cults. See, for example, E. C. Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, Chicago, 1939.

¹⁴ D. A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 *et seq.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

ment than that of the simple West Indian natives of the Columbian epoch.¹⁶ The fountain of Bimini and Florida's river are earthly phenomena in spite of the magical power of their waters, and one did not have to be dead in order to prove their rejuvenating effect.

Thus the Indian legend seems to be independent both of Polynesian myths and of the exorcising practices of American aborigines. So circumscribed in essence and meaning, the East Indian legend of the wonder-working waters of Bimini and Florida appears identical with the idea of the fountain of youth, which played such an important part in the predominating geographical lore and old religious conceptions in the folklore, literature, and art of the Middle Ages of Europe.

The absence of artistic representations of the fountain of youth, or of literary allusions to it in classical authors, proves that no such legend was known among the Greeks and Romans. In his conclusive essay prefixed to the first edition of a Sanskrit text, E. W. Hopkins established that the fountain of youth is an East-Indian invention, strictly associated with the Semitic conception of the "Water of Life" and subsequently introduced from the Orient into European folklore and literature.¹⁷

Here we are not concerned with exploring the dim origins of these legendary waters. But as the European tradition of the fountain of youth appears inextricably enmeshed with that of the River of Immortality, it may be useful and interesting to follow up the development of the myth that carries us ultimately to the imaginary hydrography of America. In such a survey we shall come to understand why the wonder-working medicinal spring of Bimini described by Peter Martyr appears in Herrera's report in connection with a river in Florida that has the same power of restoring youth to the aged.

¹⁶ Cf. the article of E. Washburn Hopkins in the *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*, VI, 15 *et seq.*, and the passages devoted to antique and Oriental magical waters in Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era*, New York, 1923.

¹⁷ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXVI (first half, 1905), pp. 1-67. For some aspects of water-cult in modern European folklore cf. P. Sébillot, "Le Culte des Fontaines," in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XIV (November, 1899). For water in folk-tales cf. Anti Aarne, *The Types of the Folk-Tale* (Helsinki, 1928), Nos. 530 and 551.

It has been ascertained that the first mention of the fountain of youth appears in the *Letter of Prester John*, a literary forgery of Utopian character, which propagated everywhere, after 1165, the knowledge of the fabulous wonders of Asia. The original edition of this exceedingly successful pamphlet reports that at the foot of Mount Olympus not far from Paradise, in Asia, there is a spring of water whose taste continually varies by day and by night. Taken on an empty stomach it gives eternal health and keeps every one who drinks of it in the state of a man of thirty-two.¹⁸

With regard to the geographical location, this description is rather puzzling and vague. But if we accept the conjecture of Dr. E. W. Hopkins that the Olympus mentioned in the passage cited must be a corruption of the medieval name of Ceylon (called "Colombo" or "Palombo"),¹⁹ then we have to recognize in this legendary mountain the Adam's Peak of this island, considered by Moslems and by Christians as the very site of the Terrestrial Paradise.²⁰ In any case, this island marked the world's oriental boundary in ancient and medieval geography.²¹

Concerning the fountain itself, we recognize in the same passage some essential details recurring in the reports of Ponce's enterprise. Yet a later elaboration of the *Letter*, belonging to the thirteenth century, completes, with some additional details, the primary image of the spring, reporting that it is situated in an island "in extremis mundi partibus versus meridiem" where a long-lived people drew from its waters lasting health and the renewal of youth.²²

The geographical situation of the fountain is a new element in the evolution of the legend from mere fable to an actual historical event. In the first edition of the *Letter of Prester*

¹⁸ Fr. Zarneke, "Der Presbyter Johannes," in *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 912 et seq., sec. 27, et seq.

¹⁹ *Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* XXVI (first half, 1905), p. 34.

²⁰ Cf. Col. Henry Yule's Commentary to *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (third edition, New York, 1929), II, pp. 320 et seq., and P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* (2 vols., Quaracchi-Firenze, 1929), I, 531. (*Relatio Fr. Johannes de Marignolli*).

²¹ Cf. John Kirtland Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 1925), p. 280.

²² Fr. Zarneke, *op. cit.*, p. 913.

John the fountain is situated in the continental Asiatic empire of this legendary sovereign—i.e. somewhere in India, where other theological and geographical traditions were wont to locate the site of the Garden of Eden.²³

This decisive transfer of the fountain of youth from its original continental situation into an island corresponds with a general tendency of geography and romance prevailing in those days, which, as we have said, was to locate in an insular landscape the scene of adventures and the place of wonders and marvels. The development of this insular romanticism follows in uninterrupted succession from the romances of the "Table Ronde" until the Spanish *Amadis*, the scene of which is an archipelago of more or less phantastic islands.²⁴

Likewise in Marco Polo's *Milione* the world of wonders, prodigies and monsters begins beyond continental Asia, unfolding itself in an insular country extending from Japan to India, and hence, to the east coast of Africa.²⁵ In the course of the fifteenth century, the imagination of the mariners and of the cartographers increased the number of legendary islands spread throughout the Atlantic Ocean,²⁶ while actual discoveries inspired Thomas More, Rabelais, and the authors of imaginary voyages to place their utopian wonderlands in such insular scenes. Molière's *Plaisirs de l'Île Enchantée* have their further origin in this sentimental longing for enchanted lands that the poets discover in an imaginary insular region and the geographers locate in the unexplored zones of the Ocean.

This tendency is connected with the literary tradition of the classical "Insulae Fortunatae" on the one hand, and on the other with the adventures of St. Brendan whose widespread poetical account belongs to the most popular tales of

²³ J. K. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 *et seq.*, and the bibliographical references collected in the appendix of this book.

²⁴ Cf. the Author's *Storia Letteraria delle Scoperte Geografiche* (above n. 2), pp. 51 *et seq.*

²⁵ Marco Polo, *Il Milione a cura di L. Foscolo-Benedetto* (Firenze, 1928), Cap. CLIX *et seq.* (Franco-Italian text); *id.*, *The Description of the World*, ed. by A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot (2 vols., London, 1938) II, pp. lxvii *et seq.* (Latin text), and I, 354 *et seq.* (English translation).

²⁶ William H. Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, New York, 1922.

the Middle Ages.²⁷ In spite of all the disappointments and casualties involved, it stimulated the navigators to further voyages and discoveries, and contributed in a larger measure than is generally supposed to actual geographical achievements.

However that may be, the idea of the wonder-spring remained long closely associated with the image of the Earthly Paradise, subjected to geographical shifts of its situation—now continental, now insular—and was part of the increasing romantic attitude towards actual or imaginary islands in the poetic literature as well as in the geographical lore of the later Middle Ages. Consequently, we may understand that Ponce de León sought the spring of rejuvenating water in an archipelago supposed to be part of the Asiatic Far East within the reach of its fabulous wealth and of its innumerable wonders.

Although the different editions of the *Letter of Prester John* contain the principal distinctive elements of the legend, certainly they contributed only partially to its widespread popularity. Its success and its suggestive power depend principally on the fact that one of the most impressive episodes of the French "Romance of Alexander" is devoted to the fountain of youth.

Like its Greek and Latin sources in earlier days, this poem of Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernai determined to a considerable extent, after its publication in the seventh decade of the twelfth century, the concept and the opinions of the Asiatic continent prevailing in the Western world. At that time the success of the *Letter of Prester John* had become so great that its influence can be recognized in almost all the French poems of courtly and scholarly inspiration.²⁸

Thus it is more than probable that the authors of the *Roman d'Alexandre* drew from the same source the motif of the wonder-spring. This appears neither in the Latin versions of Pseudo-Kallisthenes nor in the different pamphlets and

²⁷ *The Anglo-Norman Voyage of St. Brendan*, ed. with Introduction by E. G. R. Waters (Oxford, 1928); cf. J. K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore . . .*, *passim*.

²⁸ Cf. E. Faral, *Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1913.

biographies relating to the deeds of the Macedonian in Asia and to the marvels of the countries conquered by him. Undoubtedly these authors have utilized the *Letter of Prester John* in order to magnify the number and to amplify the description of the wonders of Asia, to which a very large part of their poem is devoted.²⁹

As to the fountain of youth, it seems that Alexandre de Bernai developed the plain, sober statements contained in the *Letter* by adapting this legendary motif to the epic style of his poem, and by transforming the original description into an episode of Alexander's conquest of Asia. Moreover, the poem offers all the elements for the precise delimitation of the legend which it contributed to propagate and to impress on men's memory and beliefs.

In this account the wonder-springs of Asia are three, every one of which is distinguished by a particular efficacy: the first has the power of rejuvenation, the second gives immortality, and the third resuscitates the dead.³⁰ The autonomy of each one of these waters is designated by a difference in location of their sources, and by the disconnectedness of the episodes in which they occur. By this means the author provides us with the most evident distinguishing marks of each one of these waters, thereby preventing the confusion which at times is found in the studies of folklore and legends pertaining to this subject.

Thus, uncontaminated, the rejuvenating waters ran for centuries through poems, tales and pictures, reaching at the end the American continent, and finally vanishing into the realm of fable, whence they first came. Leaving aside the waters of immortality and the spring that resuscitates the dead, both interconnected with other legends and myths, we may limit our interest to the fountain of youth described with full particulars in an episode of Alexander's conquest of India.

According to the description of Lambert li Tors this wonder-spring lies surrounded by evergreen trees in a blooming

²⁹ Cf. Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age*, Vol. II, Paris, 1886. Concerning the Fountain of Youth itself P. Meyer supposes (*op. cit.*, p. 184) that the French poet followed a "récit parallèle" to the report of the *Letters of Prester John*.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 174 et seq.

landscape, fanned by breezes bearing the sweet perfume of flowers. The water of the sacred fountain gushes through the mouth of an ancient golden lion, linked by an ingenious conduit with a basin that is situated in a pavillion of gold-banded crystal, surrounded by columns of white marble.³¹

This description has certainly determined—or at least, decidedly influenced—the artistic representation of the fountain of youth throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. But this may be left to await a separate investigation. As Ponce de León did not expect to find in the legendary islands of the West Indies a work of such consummate artistic and technical skill, we may confine our attention to the mere geographical aspect of the question.

The fountain of youth, in whose water fifty-six aged companions of Alexander recovered the complexion of thirty years, issues from a river of Paradise and is connected with the Euphrates and the Tigris, the two rivers supposed to flow, with the Nile and the Ganges, from a source situated in the Garden of Eden:

La fontaine sordait del flun de Paradis
De l'aighe d'Euftrate qui depart de Tigris.³²

This more confused than poetical statement corresponds with the passage of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*, frequently quoted in medieval treatises and poems, stating that the Euphrates and the Tigris emerge from one source and then flow in different directions:

. . . uno se fonte resolvent
Et mox abjunctis dissociantur aquis.³³

For the author of this branch of the *Roman d'Alexandre* this spring of Paradise distributes its waters to both the large oriental rivers and, at the same time, to the fountain of youth. This fantastic assumption remained decisive in the later

³¹ *Li Romans d'Alixandre par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre de Bernay*, herausgegeben von H. Michelant (Stuttgart, 1846), pp. 349 *et seq.*, verses 13 *et seq.* *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre (version of Alexandre de Paris)* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1937), II, pp. 224 *et seq.*, verse 3624.

³² Ed. Michelant, p. 350, verses 16 *et seq.*; Alex. de Paris' version, p. 225, verses 3680 *et seq.*

³³ Lib. V, 1. This image inspired Dante, *Purgatorio* XXXIII verses 110 *et seq.*

traditions of the legend, being in some measure confirmed by the Biblical description of the Earthly Paradise whose river, going out from Eden after having watered the garden, "was parted, and became into four heads."³⁴

Certainly, there is no mention of a fountain in the passage quoted from the Genesis. But the assertion that the river of Paradise "egrediebatur de loco voluptatis" is quite sufficient to explain the profane, gallant, and erotic symbolism of all descriptions and representations of the fountain of youth.³⁵ Consequently, the waters running in all "jardins de plaisance" of medieval literature and art, and in which a cherub still paddles in Titian's allegory of "Amor Sacro ed Amor Profano" must be considered, so to speak, as the profane branches of the sacred river of Paradise, proceeding "de loco voluptatis" and being the symbol of love and youth.³⁶

In any case, the connection with a river is a definite element of the general image of the fountain of youth, as it was outlined in the visionary geography of scholarly or poetic inspiration. The vague and even incomprehensible account of Herrera that reported Ponce de León's "search for the sacred fountain . . . and the river whose water rejuvenated the aged" now becomes intelligible, and may correspond with the views and expectations of the adventurers as well as with the legendary traditions which inspired their enterprises.

In their imagination as well as in Herrera's report the fountain and the river are complementary aspects of one and the same ideal oriental landscape, as it had been described by the poets and consecrated by the authority of science and religion.

The later references to the fountain in geographical and poetical works did not add new elements to its traditional image. Its description in Mandeville's account of his more

³⁴ The *Vulgata Text*, Cap. II, 8 et seq.

³⁵ For the representation of the Fountain of Youth in the arts of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance cf. R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'Art Profane* (2 vols., La Haye, 1932), II, pp. 432-445.

³⁶ This may be the simple and direct explanation of this widely diffused iconographic motif interpreted by J. Strzygowski (*Dürer und der nordische Schicksalshain*, Heidelberg, 1937) as a relic of pretended nordic imaginations and symbolism which has long lain buried and forgotten!

imaginary than actual travels³⁷ is drawn from the *Letter of Prester John*, while the short allusions contained in poetical works of epic, lyric, and didactic character are even more vague and inaccurate.³⁸ They place the fountain somewhere in the Far East and bring its rejuvenating powers rather than its geographical situation into prominence.

Connected with the image of the wonders of the Orient and with the glory of the Earthly Paradise, turned by poetry and fiction into a sign of love and health, the legendary fountain became a multifarious symbol of human longing for pleasure and delight, for eternal youth and natural happiness, a visionary realization of the human effort to break the power of death and fate. Thus its geographical situation had need of no more specific designation than that offered in a vague and mysterious frame by the French authors of the Romance of Alexander.

May we infer from all these facts that Ponce de León and his men searching for "the sacred fountain . . . and the river whose water rejuvenated the aged" were inspired and directed by this poem? Certainly not, especially as the Spanish version of the poetical history of the Macedonian does not contain that characteristic episode.³⁹ Likewise, the sailors who as late as the sixteenth century sought for the marvellous islands of St. Brendan were perhaps just as ignorant of the poem describing his adventures as the explorers of Bimini and Florida were of the *Roman d'Alexandre*.

But such poetical legends, essentially confirmed by scholarly traditions, have a tenacious existence, and a stimulating power that differentiate them fundamentally from fairy-tales, superstitions, or stories of a more popular character. Many geographical myths have a poetical tradition before becoming a generally accepted belief promoting voyages and discoveries. The history of geographical explorations readily demonstrates that such poetical and legendary images handed down

³⁷ *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London, 1900), Chap. XVIII, pp. 113 et seq.

³⁸ Cf. the article of E. W. Hopkins quoted above (n. 17), pp. 8 et seq.

³⁹ Cf. A. Morel-Fatio, "Recherches sur les Textes et les Sources du Libro de Alexandre," in *Romania*, IV, (1875) 7-90, and R. S. Willis, *The Debt of the Spanish Libro de Alexandre to the French Roman d'Alexandre*, Princeton, 1935.

by all form of literature, were constantly present in the minds of the travellers of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, contributing in a considerable measure to determine their impressions of exotic scenes or of newly discovered countries.

Turning again to the fountain of youth and the rejuvenating river of Bimini and Florida, we might consider Ponce de León's search of them as mere invention, or as mischievous gossip on the part of some jealous and jocose contemporaries, if this were the only document of legends and fanciful enterprises of this kind connected with the discovery of America. But in reality this episode belongs to a considerable series of similar facts and notions which are worthy of systematic co-ordination and critical interpretation in order to establish the rôle of literature and imagination in the history of geographical discoveries, and especially their influence on the first explorations of this continent.

Such fantastic, visionary, and untrustworthy details have been on the one hand neglected as insignificant by the historians who treated the matter from a supposedly realistic standpoint, and on the other they have served to corroborate the opinion of modern scholars convinced of the ignorance, the credulity, and the bad faith of the conquerors—particularly of Columbus and Vespucci.

It would lead us too far from our point to discuss this old and intricate question as a whole, but by considering the frame in which the fountain of youth appeared to the greedy eyes of Ponce de León's crew, we may find new elements for a true and fair solution.

The conditioning factor for such opinions and enterprises lay in the general belief held by the men of the Columbus era that the newly discovered countries belonged to Eastern Asia.⁴⁰ The scholarly and the popular knowledge of that part of the Asiatic continent was determined only in the slightest degree by direct experiences and observations; essentially it was determined by a literary tradition in which the authoritative geographers, such as Solinus, Plinius, Isidorus, seemed

⁴⁰ This fact has been newly proved by George E. Nunn, *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus* (New York, 1924), pp. 54 *et seq.*

to confirm the legends of the poetical history of Alexander the Great, and in some respects, the statements of the Scriptures.

Consequently it was natural and logical that the conquerors and the explorers projected into the newly discovered lands not only the authentic but also the legendary knowledge of the countries on which they are supposed to have put foot. The tenacity of these opinions may be easily understood if we consider that, for example, the *Opusculum Cosmographicum* of John Schoner, published in 1533, connects Florida with Northern Asia and extends Brazil as far as the peninsula of Malacca.⁴¹ In the map designed by Ruysch for the edition of Ptolemy printed in Rome in 1508, North America appears as a branch of Asia contiguous to the legendary realm of Gog and Magog.⁴²

Not all cosmographers were as daring as Waldseemüller in recognizing and naming, without a respect for the general belief, the regions recently discovered as a new world.⁴³ The voyagers were far more reluctant to abandon the old traditions of learning and poetry, and they hesitated to free themselves from their first and decisive impressions. That is borne out by the fact that the belief that the new world was a part of Asia "extra Gangem" continued into the middle of the sixteenth century.

The geographical conceptions of Columbus, of his companions and successors, were not limited to topographical, astronomical or nautical facts and calculations, but included as equally important all the phenomena known through the authority of science, faith, and poetry. The boundaries between the different aspects of human knowledge were, at this epoch, fluctuating and interchangeable, not alone because of the general tendencies of medieval culture and science, but also in consequence of the eminently bookish and didactic character of the general culture of the Columbian era.

In any case these boundaries are non-existent in the mind

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, and Alexander von Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent* (6 vols., Paris, 1836), I, 178.

⁴² *Ibid.* These maps and globes are reproduced in Harris's *Discovery of North America* and in Nordenskiöld's *Periplus*.

⁴³ Nevertheless "Waldseemüller and the German cartographers did not reject the ideas of Columbus" (Nunn, *op. cit.*, p. 90).

of Columbus and of his companions. Consequently it is unjustified and misleading to accept some of their opinions and statements as deserving critical attention and containing historical interest, while rejecting others as nonsense or trifles. Columbus' companions were not only his fellow-travellers, sharing with him the risks and the booty, but men closely knit together with him in opinions, education, and beliefs. Ponce's enterprise started in the wake of Columbus' conceptions, and his fountain of youth is an aspect of an imaginary cosmography which vanished from globes and maps before disappearing from minds and moods. The report of Columbus' third voyage furnishes the proof of this interesting fact.

It is well known that during his cruises between the Point of Paria and the mouth of the Orinoco in the summer months of 1498, Columbus recognized the continental character of the hinterland, established the existence of the equatorial current, and paid attention to the relation between longitude and climate.⁴⁴ These were the first observations of a scientific character connected with the discovery of the American continent. Nevertheless, a large part of the letter sent to the Catholic kings and containing the circumstantiated description of this third voyage is devoted to speculations about the Terrestrial Paradise which Columbus placed somewhere in the south of this region "of which the world has never had any knowledge." His belief is based on the one hand upon theological authorities, and on the other, upon arguments deduced from the mildness of the temperature and from the fresh waters discharging themselves into the sea in a quantity never seen before.

As the situation of the Earthly Paradise was an important problem of medieval geography, it is not to be wondered at that Columbus dwells so long on this argument, after having recognized in the natural conditions of the region the signs of the vicinity of the Garden of Eden. But the description of it contained in the letter does not agree with the wording of the

⁴⁴ Cf. the report of the third voyage in *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi pubblicati dalla E. Commissione Colombiana* (15 vols., Rome, 1894), Part I, Vol. II, pp. 26 et seq. (English translation by Cecil Jane, *Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1932).

Bible. Columbus says that "our Lord made the Earthly Paradise, and planted in it the tree of life, and thence springs a fountain from which the four principal rivers in the world take their course."⁴⁵

There is no mention in the text of Genesis of a fountain being the source of these four rivers.⁴⁶ Though appearing in the Biblical commentary of Nicolaus de Lyra, which Columbus repeatedly quoted in his writings,⁴⁷ and in Pierre d'Ailly's *Ymago Mundi*,⁴⁸ the fountain of Paradise belongs to a literary tradition as an element of legendary, visionary, and allegoric geography, characteristic of the popular didactic treatises of the Middle Ages, written in verse and destined to be read aloud in churches and public squares.⁴⁹

Certainly, no rejuvenating waters are mentioned in Columbus' speculations, but the idea of them is closely connected with the fountain and the rivers of Paradise in whose vicinity the Admiral supposed himself to be. The fountain and the river of Bimini and Florida are the profane counterparts of Columbus' cosmographic vision, exactly as the episode in the *Roman d'Alexandre* is the poetical reflection of the Macedonian's "Iter ad Paradisum."

Ponce de León was one of the oldest companions of Columbus and he certainly shared with him and with all other Spaniards of some culture and education their opinion as to the situation of the West Indies and the more or less direct connection between them and the fabulous regions of Eastern Asia. Ponce being convinced, as he wrote in the same letter, that the Catholic kings now possessed in the island of Española the mount Sopora in whose waters the ships of King Solomon were detained three years, and, comparing his own enterprise to Alexander's expedition to the island of Tapro-

⁴⁵ *Raccolta* . . . , loc. cit., p. 37.

⁴⁶ The *Vulgata* text has "et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividitur in quatuor capita." Gen. II, 10.

⁴⁷ Nicolaus de Lyra is also named in the report of Columbus's third voyage, *Raccolta* . . . , loc. cit., p. 38.

⁴⁸ Petrus de Aliaco, *Ymago Mundi*, ed. by E. Buron (3 vols., Paris, 1930), II, 458.

⁴⁹ Cf. Pierre's *Livre du Monde*, in Ch. V. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde d'après les écrits français à l'usage des Laïques* (Paris, 1927), p. 127; Gossouin de Metz, *Image du Monde* (*ibid.*, p. 167).

bana (Ceylon), Columbus expected, as he said, "the fulfilment of every other hope."⁵⁰

Unquestionably he transmitted this mood and this conviction to his companions, stimulating their spirit of enterprise and their imagination beyond their habitual greed of gain, conquest, and power. The curiosity for this world believed to lie "extra Gangem" was still haunting the most intelligent and educated among the conquerors of the Columbian era, and the discovery of strange things known only from legend or hearsay was considered as an element of geographical identification no less important than astronomical calculations or nautical observations for finding one's way through uncharted waters.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that almost all the curious and marvellous aspects of fabulous Asia described, or merely mentioned, in medieval literature were realized as actual experience or made the goal of journeys and adventures by the voyagers of the Columbian era. A few examples collected from contemporary reports give evidence that these wonders and marvels belong to the same cycle of legends and traditions which first mentioned and popularized the Fountain of Youth.

Five years after Ponce's disappointing enterprise, Juan de Grijalva, a former companion of Columbus, undertook his signal expedition to Yucatán which should have served to extend the geographical knowledge and the intellectual horizons of the conquerors. Yet we read in the report of the expedition addressed to the King of Spain that Yucatán was an island inhabited only by women "believed to be of the race of the Amazons."⁵¹

This mention of the Amazons is by no means a classical reminiscence of humanistic origin. In the traditions of antiquity, the Amazons are a continental female tribe of western Asia.⁵² In the *Letter of Prester John* they appeared as sub-

⁵⁰ *Raccolta . . .*, loc. cit., p. 37.

⁵¹ Cf. *Itinerario de l'armata del Re Catholico in India verso la isola de Juchathan del anno MDXVIII*, appendix to the *Itinerario de Ludovico de Varthema* (Venice, per Zorzi di Rusconi Milanese, 1520), fol. M, iii v., col. 1.

⁵² Cf. this article in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enzyklopaedie des klassischen Altertums*.

jects of the legendary Nestorian ruler of India.⁵³ But the insular nature of their country and its connection with the wonderlands of Asia are unmistakable elements of the medieval legend of Alexander the Great, in the different editions of which they appear amidst all sorts of strange peoples dwelling at the extremities of the earth.⁵⁴

For this reason Marco Polo placed the realm of the females in an island of the eastern Indian Ocean,⁵⁵ and this may have induced Columbus to suppose that the island of Martinino (perhaps Martinique) discovered on his first home voyage in 1493 and lying "next to Española on the side toward India" was inhabited by such a race of women.⁵⁶ In his marginal notes to Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* Columbus underlined the passage stating that some cartographers of his time drew in their maps the land of the Amazons as an island.⁵⁷ A similar chain of reminiscences, misinterpretations, and illusions induced the first missionaries of Brazil to believe that the natives of this country preserved the memory of St. Thomas, whose footprints they reported to have discovered on the banks of a river.⁵⁸ More than a "sancta simplicitas," this pious belief proves the lasting power of suggestion inherent in the legend of St. Thomas which is strictly connected with that of Prester John and of the marvels of his imaginary Indian realm.

After Balboa's discovery of the South Sea in 1513 and the conquest of Mexico by Hernan Cortés, all these marvels seem

⁵³ Cf. F. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, p. 917, sec. 55.

⁵⁴ *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, herausgegeben von Fr. Pfister, (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 119 *et seq.*; *Li Romans d'Alexandre*, ed. Michelant, pp. 447 *et seq.*; *id.* version of Alexandre de Paris, pp. 310 *et seq.*, verse 7236 *et seq.*; *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman . . .*, herausgegeben von A. Hilka, (Halle, 1920), pp. 154 *et seq.*, and p. 175 (with Latin text). Cf. Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand . . .*, II, 192 *et seq.*; Albrecht Rosenthal, "The Isle of the Amazons: A Marvel of Travellers," in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I (1938), No. 3, p. 257.

⁵⁵ Col. Yule's Commentary, ed. cit., II, pp. 405 *et seq.*

⁵⁶ *Raccolta . . .*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 131.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 313. This island is represented in Martin Behaim's globe (cf. E. G. Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim*, London, 1908, p. 105).

⁵⁸ Cf. George E. Nunn, *The Columbus and Magellan Concepts of Southern American Geography* (Glenside, 1932), p. 38. The story is first told in the *Neue Zeytung auss Presily Landt* written in 1514.

to have moved westward into the unexplored ocean. At the time when the Magellan expedition was already on its way to the home port, Cortés reported in his letter of May 15, 1522; to Charles V that in the South Sea there were "many islands rich in gold, pearls, precious stones and other unknown and admirable things."⁵⁹ As if the conquest of an empire and the accumulation of immeasurable wealth were not sufficient to appease the insatiable avidity of these adventurers, Cortés connects the trivial but still stimulating "mirages" of the poetic geography of Asia with the report of his extraordinary experiences.

As we see, the image of the Far East created and spread by the legends and poems about Alexander the Great and Prester John was indestructible and irresistible. We may confirm this impression if we remember that Bartolomé de las Casas, first bishop and chronicler of the West Indies, supposed that the Indians of this continent were the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel enclosed by Alexander the Great behind the gate that separated the western world from Gog and Magog, and from the remotest parts of Eastern Asia.⁶⁰

One after another we recognize in the reports of the explorers of America the symptoms of the influence of literary traditions projected into the aspects of the newly discovered tracts of land and sea. The letters of Columbus are eloquent testimony to the influence of legendary geography over actual experiences and scientific observations. They ought to be systematically studied apart from this point of view. Now we can suppose that the mere word *India* was sufficient to stir up the visions that transformed the plainest and most prosaic aspects of the new world into wonders and marvels.

⁵⁹ Fr. Zarneke, *op. cit.*, pp. 839 *et seq.*

⁶⁰ G. E. Nunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 *et seq.* A nearly complete bibliography concerning the long debated question of the pretended Jewish origin of the Amerindians is contained in Luis Perigot y García's *América Indígena* in *Historia de América y de los Pueblos Americanos*, dirigida por A. Ballesteros y Baretta (Barcelona, 1936), p. 365. Concerning the legend of the Ten Tribes of Israel and Alexander's Gate, cf. Arturo Graf, *La Leggenda di Gog e Magog in Roma nelle Immaginazioni e nelle Leggende del Medio Evo* (Torino, 1915), Append. and A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932; The Mediaeval Academy of America) with the book review of Ph. Barry in *Speculum*, VIII (1933), pp. 264 *et seq.*

Not all the conquerors of course were sensitive men, inclined to an idealization of nature and events. But the sort of travellers who were incapable of emotion and destitute of imagination were blind to the natural and human aspects of their discoveries and left no word of them to their contemporaries or to posterity. Certainly Ponce de León was far from being inclined to idealize the rough business of conquest and colonization. But at the time of his expedition to Bimini and Florida he was convinced, as were all the other companions and successors of Columbus, that he ruled over islands spread out before that part of fabulous Asia which was principally known as a land of wonders and marvels.

Together with the circumstance that the expedition turned out to be fruitless and disappointing, that fact contributes to confirm our general impression that the enterprise of Ponce de León and the discovery of Florida were determined, not by a West Indian legend belonging to the tradition of the natives of the Antilles, but rather, by a legend that crossed the Ocean with Columbus' companions, together with the myths of the Earthly Paradise, of the Amazons, of St. Thomas' wonder-working tomb, of the Ten Tribes of Israel, of Gog and Magog, and of the monsters into which Columbus inquired after his landing at Española. The Fountain of Youth is an inevitable element in this traditional imagery of the wonders of Asia.

Herrera, indeed, speaks of a "sacred fountain, so renowned among the Indians," but, merely bringing into prominence its sacred character, he links it rather with the sacred spring of Paradise than with a prosaic medicinal water. It is more probable that its alleged reputation among the Indians was born of the Spaniards' eagerness to find in their new possessions the fountain and the river whose water rejuvenates the aged, and which was connected somehow with the rivers of Paradise.

This complex religious, geographical, and literary myth exceeds the primitive powers of imagination of the simple minded natives of the Antilles or of the Bahamas. But these had a ready and vivid intellectual acumen and from their oppressors they learned to believe in all manner of fables and nonsense. Professor Franz Boas, the American anthropol-

ogist, established in an article published some years ago in the *Romantic Review* that the Indian folklore contains a great deal of assimilated European material going back mainly to Spanish, French, and Portuguese sources.⁶¹ We may suppose that this evolution began with the first contacts of the Spaniards with the Indians, and that the belief in the charming fable of the Fountain of Youth was propagated among them with the image of the Garden of Eden.

Considered in this broad historical framework, the American phase of this old literary motif appears as an eloquent symptom of tendencies and feelings which accompanied and directed the conquest of this continent in the early epoch of its discovery and colonization. As a geographical myth the Fountain of Youth is the most popular and characteristic expression of the emotions and expectations which agitated the conquerors of the New World.

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⁶¹ "Romance Folk-Lore Among American Indians," in *Romance Review*, XVI (1925), pp. 199 *et seq.*

THE COLLECTION OF TITHES IN THE BISHOPRIC OF OAXACA DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Church tithes were one of the most important taxes levied in New Spain. Through their peculiar nature as both state property and the main source of church revenue, they were a basic factor in determining the relations not only of church and state but also of secular and regular clergy. In the sixteenth century the friars' attempt to have the Indians exempted from payment caused one of the bitterest and longest disputes of the colonial period. At the same time, the heavy burden of this annual tax and the sweeping character of its assessment made collection a matter of great importance to the colonial community. Church agents pried into almost every phase of agricultural production so thoroughly that their records are detailed, invaluable substitutes for census reports.

Upon the basis of surviving parts of the episcopal archive of Oaxaca, together with many other available sources, it is possible to trace the development of the earliest collection system in the single bishopric of Oaxaca during the sixteenth century. Some of the factors which determined and conditioned this development, such as the topography of the diocese and the personalities of local bishops, were peculiar to Oaxaca. Others, such as state intervention, the attempt of groups and individuals to gain exemption from an onerous tax, and the determination of the secular church to gain an adequate revenue, operated in all dioceses of New Spain, and these set such narrow limits to local variations that the major outlines of the Oaxacan collection system probably were typical of all collection systems in the viceroyalty.

The bishopric of Oaxaca, or Antequera, as it then was called, was one of the earliest dioceses organized in the New World. It was erected on June 2, 1535, by the papal bull, *Illius fulciti praesidio*, and nineteen days later, on June 21, Juan

López de Zárate was appointed bishop.¹ The boundaries of the bishopric, running from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, included all of the present state of Oaxaca except the three northwestern districts of Huajuapán, Justlahuaca, and Silayacoapan, which were attached to the diocese of Puebla. In addition, the bishopric comprised the district of Ometepec in the eastern part of the present state of Guerrero, and, on the Gulf coast, the southern part of the state of Veracruz and the westernmost districts of Tabasco.² These boundaries, as they were early established, remained without change throughout the colonial period.

In common with all other dioceses of the Spanish Indies, the new bishopric could not levy and collect church tithes at the discretion of its own authorities. On November 16, 1501, Pope Alexander VI had conceded all tithes of the New World to the Spanish crown. By the papal bull these became absolute royal property, the crown being bound only by a condition that it provide the churches with an adequate revenue.³ In fulfillment of this obligation the king regranted the tithes to the churches of the Indies, but circumscribed their freedom of action by minute regulations. In general, these fell into three groups: those determining the crops which were to be subject to the levy, those enacting a plan for the distribution of the revenues, and those providing for intervention of treasury agents in collection and distribution.

Establishing the first group of royal regulations, a schedule of the crops which were to be liable to tithe, was a complex affair. The peculiar nature of tithes as royal property meant not only that the crown determined the extent to which they

¹ José Antonio Gay, *Historia de Oaxaca* . . . (2 vols., Mexico, 1881), I, 327-329; Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia en México* . . . (5 vols., Tlalpam [etc.], 1921-1928), I, 301, 306.

² In the state of Veracruz the diocese covered the towns of Chacaltianguis, Tesechoacán, Otitlán, and Tlacojalpan in the canton of Cosamaloapan, and the cantons of Tuxtla, Acayucan, and Minatitlán; in Tabasco, the region of Los Ahualuleos, including all of the district of Huimanguillo and perhaps part of that of Cunduacán. Cuevas, *Historia*, III, 107; Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias* . . . (Madrid, 1894), p. 226.

³ Francisco Javier Hernández, *Colección de bulas, brevas y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de America y Filipinas* . . . (2 vols., Brussels, 1879), I, 20-21; Cuevas, *Historia*, II, 46.

were to be levied and whether the standard rate of ten per cent or a lower one was to be exacted, but that state courts had jurisdiction over all cases involving them. The bishoprics of New Spain found themselves forced to appeal to the state for decisions and had to sue in royal courts even when the dispute affected only two of their own number.⁴ If people held to the tithe, lobbied in Spain or resisted the suit, the cases often involved protracted negotiation and litigation before the Audiencia of Mexico, the Council of the Indies and the king.⁵ During the reign of Charles V, as most of the questions concerning ordinary tithes were raised and settled, the state developed a complex body of rulings covering the assessment of tithes upon almost every product raised in the Indies.

In general, these decisions meant the application to America of the custom of Spain, especially that of the archdiocese of Seville, which was the original metropolitan of the American bishoprics. Upon this basis, the crown decreed that first fruits were to be levied in the Indies only upon those crops upon which they were paid in the archbishopric of Seville.⁶ (This ruling did not have much application in Oaxaca, where first fruits either were not paid or were given to the parish priests, and so never affected the episcopal collection system.) Under the same body of custom, the crown exempted colonists in the New World from personal tithes,⁷ freeing all products of manufacturing and all wages from church levy. The products of fisheries, of hunting, and of wood and forest lands also were exempted.⁸ Furthermore, gold, silver, and other metals, and pearls and precious stones were declared free from church levy since they were reserved for special royal taxation.⁹ The

⁴ For example, the suit between Bishop Vasco de Quiroga of Michoacán and the archbishopric of Mexico. *Real provision de la Audiencia de México en pleito seguido por el Obispo de Michoacán contra el Arzobispado, sobre diezmos . . .*, Mexico, September 12, 1556, in Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer obispo y arzobispo de México . . .* (Mexico, 1881), App., 211-214.

⁵ See, for example, Fabián de Fonseca and Carlos de Urrutia, *Historia general de real hacienda, . . .* (6 vols., Mexico, 1845-1853), III, 146-170.

⁶ *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias . . .* (2nd ed., 4 vols., Madrid, 1756), lib. I, tít. XVI, ley xxi.

⁷ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tít. XVI, ley. xx.

⁸ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tít. XVI, ley xviii.

⁹ *Gobernación espiritual y temporal de las Indias*, in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas*

crown did declare tithable all New World crops such as maize, cotton, tobacco, and cochineal, for none of which there was a direct Spanish precedent; all European crops introduced into America; and all livestock, domesticated fowls, and animal products. European and American crops and animal products were assessed at ten per cent except for sugar, which was taxed at the rate of five per cent on some grades and four per cent on others, in accordance with the custom of the Canaries. Livestock was assessed at one tenth of the increase, payable at the time of the annual round-up.¹⁰ Under no circumstances was tithe to be paid upon any product more than once.¹¹ Through these decisions the general population was bound to tithe upon nearly every product of grazing and agriculture.

A special series of rulings arose out of the existence of the *encomienda*. Under the rules governing the royal decisions, tributes ordinarily would not have been subject to tithe, but the needs of the new dioceses led the king to extend the levy to all tributes which *encomenderos*, including himself as the greatest *encomendero* of all, received from the Indians. The obligation covered payments in specie, agricultural products, fowls, and livestock, but did not extend to services. When the tribute paid was a mixture of a tithable commodity and services, the courts drew a fine distinction to separate the two categories. Cotton cloth, for example, was declared tithable for the value of the cotton in it, but exempt from payment on the increase in value due to spinning and weaving.¹²

Imposition upon the *encomienda* of the obligation to pay tithe, in turn, raised a further question because of the fact that residents in one diocese often held *encomiendas* in another. Should the tithe be paid to the bishopric in which the *encomendero* lived? to the bishopric where his *encomienda* lay? or to both? The crown and the Audiencia of Mexico decided that in such cases the tithe was to be divided equally between

posiciones españolas de Ultramar. 2 ser. . . (25 vols., Madrid, 1885-1932), XX, 186-187.

¹⁰ *Recopilación, lib. I, tit. XVI, leyes ii-ix.*

¹¹ *Recopilación, lib. I, tit. XVI, ley xix.*

¹² *Recopilación, lib. I, tit. XVI, ley xii; Expediente on the payment of titnes upon tributes, 1536-1554, in Fonseca and Urrutia, III, 146-170.*

the two bishoprics.¹³ Their ruling worked to the disadvantage of a remote area like Oaxaca where many of the largest and richest encomiendas were held by residents of Mexico City and Puebla. The bishopric of Oaxaca, poor as it was, was forced to divide much of the tithe paid on tributes with the dioceses of Mexico and Puebla, even though it received nothing by way of counterbalance, because none of its residents held encomiendas outside of its borders. Fortunately for Oaxacan revenues, tithes on tributes received by the crown were paid only to the bishopric within which they originated.¹⁴

Together, all of these decisions established what, in effect, became a tithe schedule enforceable in the state courts.

In contrast to the complex series of rulings needed to establish payment of tithes, the royal plan for distribution of the revenues easily was enacted by inserting it in the act of erection of the bishopric of Oaxaca, and in those of the other bishoprics.¹⁵ In 1541 it was repeated in a comprehensive royal ordinance. Under the plan, one half of the total amount of tithes was to be divided into two equal shares, one for the bishop and the other for the cathedral chapter. The remaining half was to be divided into ninths, of which two were reserved for the king, to be collected and spent at his pleasure; one and one half were to be devoted to the construction and repair of the cathedral and parish churches; one and one half to the establishment and support of hospitals; and four to paying the salaries of parish priests. Any surplus arising from the last item, after all priests had been paid, was to be added to the share of the cathedral chapter to insure that the canons' salaries were met.¹⁶

¹³ *Demanda de Antón Carmona* . . . , Mexico, March 8, 1535, in Mariano Cuevas, comp., *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México* . . . (Mexico, 1914), pp. 49-51.

¹⁴ *Demanda de Antón Carmona* . . . , Mexico, March 8, 1535, in Cuevas, *Documentos*, pp. 49-51.

¹⁵ The original of the bull and act of erection of the diocese of Oaxaca has been lost, the cathedral archive having only a partial transcript made in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the document never was printed, but it could not have differed from the acts of the other dioceses since these all followed the same pattern. Those for the bishoprics of Mexico and Tlaxcala are published in Hernáez, II, 36-47 and 50-59.

¹⁶ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tit. XVI, ley xxiii. The ordinance differed from the act of erection in that it contemplated the use in each parish, for church construction,

The third group of royal regulations, those providing for state control or supervision over tithe collection and distribution, set up a system which was at once more involved than the arrangement for tithe distribution and far less so than the rulings establishing a tithe schedule. Under the official plan, as embodied in decrees first issued between 1539 and 1549, the degree of state control over actual collection was to vary with the yield. If the bishop's share of the tithes did not cover the minimum salary guaranteed to him, the royal officials were to collect all of the tithes, put them in the local treasury, and, supplementing them from other revenues, were to pay the expenses of the diocese. Since the bishop was guaranteed 500,000 maravedís a year,¹⁷ or a few tomines more than 1838 *pesos de tepuzque*,¹⁸ the regulation meant that until total annual tithe revenue passed 7353 *pesos de tepuzque*, treasury officials were to have virtually absolute control over collection. When tithes yielded enough to cover expenses; that is, when they passed an annual total of 7353 *pesos de tepuzque*, collection was to be left in the hands of the prelate and cathedral chapter,¹⁹ subject, however, to safeguarding provisos that no ecclesiastic or anyone entitled to a share in the tithes might buy the farm of the tithes,²⁰ and that a treasury official must be present whenever the bishop and chapter farmed out the tithes or distributed the proceeds.²¹ In addition, treasury officials always were to collect the king's two ninths of one half; these they were to deposit in the treasury and then were to pay out as the king might direct. This procedure was mandatory even though the two ninths might have been granted

of the one and one-half ninth raised in that parish. The acts of erection merely ordered that the total fund be used for cathedral and parish churches.

¹⁷ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tít. XVI, leyes xxii-xxiii. The guarantee did not extend to the salaries of the cathedral chapter. *Ibid.*, tít. XI, ley xiii.

¹⁸ The *peso de tepuzque* or peso of common gold was worth 272 maravedís, and consisted of 8 tomines, each worth 34 maravedís. Money in common gold was interchangeable with that of silver, the real being worth a tomin. *Ordenanzas hechas por Don Antonio de Mendoza, Visorrey de la Nueva España, que trata de los reales y oro de Tepuzque*, México, July 15, 1536, in *Colección de documentos . . . de Ultramar*, X, 332-334.

¹⁹ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tít. XVI, ley xxiii.

²⁰ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tít. XVI, ley xxxi.

²¹ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tít. XVI, leyes xxviii and xxx; *Gobernación espiritual y temporal de las Indias*, in *Colección de documentos . . . de Ultramar*, XX, 198-202.

back to the cathedral for use in defraying expenses of construction.²² The degree of royal supervision thus ranged from collection and distribution by treasury agents to mere attendance of a royal representative at meetings of the cathedral chapter. By retaining stringent control over its two ninths, moreover, the crown kept alive an incontestable interest in tithe collection and distribution which always could be used as the legal basis for attempts to restore stricter supervision.

Royal intervention in the form of these three categories of restrictions upon diocesan control over tithes, it must be added, varied as much in the degree to which it was enforced as it did in the complexity and method of enforcement. The decisions establishing liability of crops to imposition of the tithe and rates of levy apparently were adhered to rigidly. The Spaniards and mestizos seldom would pay more than they could be held for, and the bishoprics were determined to exact every *tomín* to which they were entitled. Similarly, the royal plan for distribution of tithes set up a simple, uniform system under which the interested parties knew and insisted upon payment of their shares, the only departure from the plan being that, in practice, the diocesan councils diverted entirely to construction and repair of the cathedral churches, the funds which should have benefited parish churches as well. The least enforced parts of the royal regulations were those providing for state intervention in tithe collection and distribution. The provisions enacted were vague enough in themselves to leave room for dispute and friction between the dioceses and the state. Under one interpretation, royal supervision, once tithes reached the required minimum, could be reduced to a mere formula of attendance by district officials; under another, the presence of state agents could mean active inspection and supervision. The dioceses, of course, invariably insisted upon the interpretation which reduced crown interference to a minimum. Furthermore, whatever may have been the case in the other dioceses of New Spain, as far as Oaxaca was concerned, the provisions for state control over collection suffered from the fundamental defect that royal authority could be effective only to the extent to which it was

²² *Recopilación*, lib. I, tít. XVI, ley xxiv; lib. VIII, tít. XXIV, ley 1.

exercised, and the local fiscal agents, who were to execute the regulations, had to live within the confines of Antequera with the bishop and his chapter. During the twenty years of López de Zárate's episcopate, the total annual tithe probably never reached 7353 pesos.²³ Collection should have been in the hands of treasury agents, but for all that Zárate appears to have controlled tithe gathering without any serious objection on their part.²⁴ In the time of his successor, when the yield finally passed the minimum, state intervention in collection legally was reduced to supervision. There is no evidence that this was more than nominal.

When Bishop Zárate and his canons took charge of their diocese at some time between 1536 and 1538, they were bound by the beginnings of this framework of royal regulation; before the death of Zárate in 1555, almost the full system had been enacted. They had no discretion in determining the crops upon which they might collect tithes or the rates at which these tithes were to be assessed. They were forced to distribute the yield according to the royal plan, and, at least in theory, they always were to be subject to some form of state supervision.

The main features of the Oaxacan system of collection were established during the administration of Zárate at the same time that the principal royal regulations were being formulated. Selection of a method for gathering ordinary tithes occasioned no dispute between the crown and the bishopric. Both agreed that these would be farmed out; that is, tithes would be collected by private individuals who would buy the right from the cathedral authorities. In providing that a treasury agent must be present when a farm was awarded, the royal government took it for granted that this would be the method, and it never occurred to the bishop and his canons to choose a different one. Under this system, public proclamation was made asking for bids for the privilege of collecting the tithes either of the whole or a part of the diocese during a stated period. At the time appointed, the bishop and his council assembled to receive the bids, and upon the basis of

²³ Cuevas, *Historia*, II, 70.

²⁴ Bishop Zárate to the king, Mexico, May 10, 1551, Cuevas, *Historia*, I, 339.

these sold the farm for a definite sum in cash or in payments. The tithes due the bishopric for that period then belonged to the successful bidder, who collected them, stored the payments in kind, and transported them to markets in the Spanish towns, where they could be disposed of advantageously—all this at his own expense and risk.

However inefficient collection by tax farmers may seem today to a population accustomed to elaborate state fiscal systems, it was the normal order in the sixteenth century. The Spanish state collected the greater part of its revenues in this fashion.²⁵ Indeed, for a frontier bishopric, desperately in need of funds and without agents to gather, store, and market its tithes, the system had definite attractions. The man who bought the farm, paying before he collected, discounted the bishopric's revenues for cash, assuring it of a definite sum upon which it could count. At the same time he transferred to his own shoulders the uncertainties and risks involved in collecting, transporting, and selling cotton, maize, wheat, fowls, livestock, and all the other products upon which tithes were paid. As long as the total amount involved was low and expenses of collecting and transporting products relatively high, the advantage lay with the bishopric.

During the first years these disadvantages and poor returns made it difficult to find men willing to bid for the tithes. In 1551 Bishop Zárate wrote to the king that in some years no one had come forward to bid for the farm of the tithe of livestock or to buy the livestock collected, and that it was because of this fact that he had arranged through dummy bidders to buy the cattle himself and to establish ranches with them. Although the bishop's enemies advanced a less flattering explanation,²⁶ and division of the farms upon a crop basis rather than a territorial one certainly was unusual, his statement must have had at least an element of truth, for ten years later, in 1561, his successor, Bishop Alburquerque, reported that the farm of the tithes brought only an average of 4000 pesos a year.²⁷

²⁵ Manuel Colmeiro, *Historia de la economía política en España . . .* (2 vols., Madrid, 1863), I, 481-489; II, 546-558.

²⁶ Bishop Zárate to the king, Mexico, May 10, 1551, Cuevas, *Historia*, I, 339.

²⁷ Cuevas, *Historia*, II, 70.

During these early years the system of outright purchase probably returned a profit to the tax farmer, and the bishopric, therefore, was able to find bidders, only because of the peculiar nature of sixteenth-century tithes. The bulk of these came from tributes paid by Indians to their encomenderos. About 1571, according to López de Velasco, such tributes amounted to about 18,000 pesos annually for Oaxacan towns held by the king, and for those under private control, to over 56,000 pesos, or in all to a minimum of 74,000 pesos from about 150 encomiendas.²⁸ One tenth of this figure, even after deductions are made for the four *excusados* and for the shares of other bishoprics whose residents held encomiendas, would account for almost all of the tithe farm. The great advantage to the tax farmer from this circumstance lay in the fact that under a special royal privilege granted soon after the founding of the bishopric, the Indians were compelled to bring tithes to the centrally located towns where they delivered their tributes.²⁹ The farmer could collect his property at a few, relatively accessible towns and was spared the expense of visiting each village in Oaxaca. In 1542 Gonzalo de Espinar, tax farmer for that year, explained to Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza that without this saving in expense the cost of collection would have amounted to more than the tithes were worth.³⁰ Until this privilege was revoked in 1566,³¹ ease of collection partly compensated in the territory of Oaxaca for the slender margin of profit possible. Even after 1566 the concentration

²⁸ 227. López de Velasco gives the total as more than 54,000 pesos but the two items add to 74,000 pesos.

²⁹ The privilege was granted for two or three years at a time and then was renewed. Cédula of the king to the bishops of Mexico, Guatemala, and Oaxaca, Valladolid, August 23, 1538, Genaro García, ed., *El clero de México durante la dominación española* . . . (Mexico, 1907), 48-49; Cédula of the cardinal, Madrid, August 14, 1540, Vasco de Puga, comp., *Cedulario* . . . (2nd ed., 2 vols., Mexico, 1878-[1880]), I, 433-435; *Gobernación espiritual y temporal de las Indias. Colección de documentos . . . de Ultramar*, XX, 196-197; *Inventario de los papeles* . . . , in Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, App., 233, 240. *Excusados* were households paying tithes to the church construction fund under a special arrangement.

³⁰ Order of Antonio de Mendoza on the tithes of Oaxaca, Mexico, September 27, 1542, MS, Mexico. Archivo General de la Nación, *Mercaderes*, I, 157v-158r. See also the letter of the bishops of Mexico, Oaxaca, and Michoacán to the king, Mexico, 1540, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, comp., *Epistolario de Nueva España*, IV, 13-14.

³¹ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tít. XVI, ley xi.

of the most tithes in 150 encomiendas still meant an important economy in collection.

During the episcopates of Bishop Alburquerque and of Bishop Ledesma, from 1559 to 1604, a steady increase in the amount of tithes finally made it possible to farm them out regularly while, at the same time, the certainty of finding bidders enabled the bishopric to fix the outlines of its collection system. The Gulf coast, or Coatzacoalcos area, which was almost inaccessible from Oaxaca City, often was handled as a separate farm, and because the total amount of its ordinary tithes was small, they usually were auctioned off for several years at a time. For 1584-1587 they were awarded under a four-year contract at 450 pesos a year.³² Although other areas occasionally were handled under individual contracts,³³ the tithes of the remainder of the bishopric ordinarily were awarded as a single farm sold annually. Under this arrangement the diocesan authorities could be sure of collecting ordinary tithes even in poorer districts and the contract became sufficiently tempting to insure finding a bidder. In 1587, for example, the bishopric was able to obtain a bid of 8200 pesos of common gold from Rafael Panelo although even at that late date it had to promise him a rebate of 100 pesos.³⁴

With but two exceptions these farms uniformly covered all crops within the area specified in each contract and operated upon all persons whatever their rank, offices, or privileges. Whenever the bishopric and the tithe farmers were unable to enforce payment, the state could be depended upon to help them with the coercive power at its command. In 1542, when the encomenderos tried to balk collection of tithes on their tributes, Viceroy Mendoza issued a stringent order holding them to their obligation.³⁵ A decade earlier, between 1531 and 1532, when the diocese had not yet been established, the

³² *Libro de cargo y descargo del mayordomo*, 1563-1604, MS, Archive of the cathedral of Oaxaca, *cargo de* 1588.

³³ Those of Villa Alta, for example, *Libro de cargo y descargo del mayordomo*, 1563-1604, *cargo de* 1599.

³⁴ *Repartimiento de los diezmos de 1587*, MS, Archive of the cathedral of Oaxaca.

³⁵ Order of Antonio de Mendoza on the tithes of Oaxaca, Mexico, September 27, 1542, MS, Mexico. Archivo General de la Nación, *Mercedes*, I, 157v-158r.

audiencia and the crown thwarted an even more serious attempt on the part of Cortés to gain exemption from payment. Cortés obtained from the pope a privilege for his marquisate similar to the royal patronato. Under the papal bull he not only gained exemption from paying on his own crops but became entitled to collect tithes from all people living on his estates. As his holdings included the richer parts of the Valley of Oaxaca, the papal privilege, if sustained, would have deprived the bishopric of Oaxaca of much of its revenues. The tithe farmer for the diocese of Mexico, which then included the area, sued Cortés for the amount of the tithe. Upon examining the bull, the audiencia ordered its operation suspended until the king could be consulted,³⁶ and the king, ever jealous of his power and fearful that a new generation of feudal lords might arise in the Indies to challenge him, promptly commended the audiencia and had the bull recalled.³⁷ Thereafter the marquisate was held for its full share of tithes. It accepted the decision loyally and paid without dispute.³⁸ In thus protecting the church, the crown undoubtedly was influenced by its own stake in the tithes—the more the yield, the greater its share, but church jurisdiction and revenues benefited.

The two exceptions to this uniform operation of the tithe farms were in the collection of tithes paid by Indians on their crops and in the *excusado*. The two were completely dissimilar in their nature and importance. The *excusado* originated as a device to increase the fund devoted to construction and repair of the cathedral. One household in each parish, to be neither the largest nor the smallest but the second largest, was to pay its tithes to this fund and not to the church as a whole.³⁹

³⁶ *Real cédula y expediente sobre que el Marqués del Valle entregase á la Audiencia de Méjico una bula del Papa . . .*, 1531-1532, in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía . . .* (42 vols., Madrid, 1864-1884), XIII, 237-250.

³⁷ *Gobernación espiritual y temporal de las Indias*, in *Colección de documentos . . . de Ultramar*, XX, 191.

³⁸ *Relación de lo que valieron las rentas del marqués del Valle en los años de 1568 y 1569*, Mexico, January 10, 1570, in Paso y Troncoso, XI, 5-60.

³⁹ Act of erection of the bishopric of Mexico, Toledo, 1534, Hernández, II, 45. See also the act of erection of the bishopric of Tlaxcala, 1526, Hernández, II, 57.

From the circumstance that technically this household was exempted from paying tithes to the church as a whole, it was called *excusado* or *segunda casa excusada*. In Oaxaca the right of the *excusado* was exercised only in the four Spanish towns first founded, none of the other parishes, not even a Spanish villa like Nejapa, being included in its operation. The separate nature of the revenue was preserved by collecting it apart from the general farm; usually it was farmed out under separate contracts for each town either annually or for periods of several years at a time. According to the records of the cathedral majordomo, for example, the *excusado* of Tehuantepec was farmed out under a single contract covering 1584-1586 for 750 pesos; that of Coatzacoalcos, under a four-year contract from 1584-1587, for 300 pesos; that of Oaxaca, sold under an annual contract in 1587, brought 345 pesos; while that of Villa Alta de San Ildefonso de los Zapotecas, for all its impressive name a scrubby settlement in the hills, was auctioned off for the single year 1587 for 25 pesos.⁴⁰ In view of the small amount of the *excusado* of Villa Alta, in all probability, it ordinarily was farmed out for several years at a time.

The net result of the institution of the *excusado* was to add to the number of tithe farms and to the difficulty of collection. Even when sold for several years at a time, these farms held so little margin of profit for buyers that payments to the cathedral often were in arrears.⁴¹ The *excusado* made no difference in the method of collection, and as far as the *segunda casa excusada* was concerned, it meant only that tithes were paid to a publican who had bought them under a separate contract.

In contrast to the *excusado*, the exemption of Indian tithes from the operation of the general tithe farms threatened the bishopric with a serious loss of revenue. It was more complicated than perhaps any other aspect of tithe collection. Involved in it were the problems: should the Indians pay tithes at all? if they were held to payment, on what crops should this be? at what rates? and under what restrictions upon the

⁴⁰ *Libro de cargo y descargo del mayordomo, 1563-1604, cargos de 1587 y 1588.*

⁴¹ *Libro de cargo y descargo del mayordomo, 1563-1604, passim.*

method of gathering to protect them from possible extortions by tax farmers? These questions were general to all of New Spain and brought about one of the bitterest and most protracted disputes of colonial times. The entire secular hierarchy of the colony ranged itself against the powerful regular orders, while the royal government, which as owner of the tithes had to decide, found itself caught between two influential groups. Sympathizing with the seculars' demands that the Indians pay tithes, yet fearful of the regulars' protests and their determined lobbying at court, backed as these were by equally determined resistance in the parishes, the government investigated, tried to reach a decision, temporized, and then hesitatingly blundered through the same cycle. At best this paper can only summarize the tortuous course of the dispute and describe the solution reached in Oaxaca.

The controversy began quite innocently during the administration of the Second Audiencia from 1530 to 1535. It always was the crown's aim that the Indians support the church, preferably through tithes, but it allowed itself to be persuaded that exaction of tithes might hinder the work of conversion. At first, therefore, the crown decided that the Indians were not to be held to tithe for the time being but were to contribute through an increase in tributes.⁴² By 1534 the royal ministers became impatient and the audiencia was ordered to deliberate upon the advisability of laying tithes upon Indians.⁴³ Probably as a result of the audiencia's advice, the crown in 1536 continued the temporary exemption of the Indians but decreed that this was to be compensated for by two temporary measures: a tithe on the tributes received by encomenderos and a special privilege under which the Indians were compelled to bring such tithes to the centrally located towns where they paid their tributes.⁴⁴

⁴² Royal cédula to the audiencia of Mexico, Monzón, August 2, 1533, Puga, I, 310-311.

⁴³ Royal cédula, Toledo, February 20, 1534, Puga, I, 326-327. This was repeated on April 18, 1534. *Ibid.*, 333-335.

⁴⁴ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tit. XVI, ley xii; Cédula of the queen, Valladolid, September 13, 1536, Fonseca and Urrutia, III, 146-170; *Instrucción para el canónigo Cristóbal Campaya, para las cosas . . . concernientes á la Iglesia Catedral de México . . .*, March 1, 1536, in Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, App., 214-217. See note 29.

Meanwhile, in 1535, the administration of New Spain had been entrusted to a viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza. He also was instructed to examine the question of Indian tithes. He was to call together the bishops and other prelates, and with their advice decide the matter. If tithes could be levied upon the Indians without oppression or scandal, they were to be held to pay; but in that case, if the yield was likely to be more than the amount needed to support churches and clergy, the royal government wanted to retain the surplus.⁴⁵ These instructions reflected an optimism which the government soon lost. During the first years of Mendoza's rule, however, the question had not yet become embittered. In 1537 the bishops of Mexico, Guatemala, and Oaxaca still could write a placidly impartial report to the king, giving the arguments for and against imposing tithes upon the Indians and suggesting that the temporary arrangement already in force be continued.⁴⁶

In consultation with the bishops of New Spain, Mendoza considered the matter of tithes carefully. As a reasonable compromise, he decided, the Indians should pay upon the three introductions from Spain which rapidly were becoming their standard cash crops: wheat, silk, and livestock. With his approval Bishop Zumárraga and his council and Bishop Zárate petitioned the king to concede these tithes, and in 1543 and again in 1544 the crown issued the order. The Indians of New Spain were to pay tithes on livestock, wheat, and silk. In order, however, to insure that they should not be molested by tax farmers, the dioceses might not farm out the tithes but must collect them themselves.⁴⁷

This concession and the attempts to enforce it unleashed violent opposition by the friars and from then on battle was joined. Both sides developed long arguments to support their views. The friars complained that tithes would be an unjust burden upon the Indians, who already were supporting the churches through tributes and community treasuries. The Indians were too poor, they maintained, to stand an additional

⁴⁵ *Instrucciones . . .*, Barcelona, April 25, 1535, in *Colección de documentos . . . de Ultramar*, X, 256-257.

⁴⁶ Mexico, November 30, 1537, Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, App., 89-91.

⁴⁷ Cédula of the prince, Valladolid, August 8, 1544, Puga, I, 459-460; Zumárraga to Prince Philip, Mexico, December 4, 1547, Cuevas, *Documentos*, 142-143.

burden, and the levying of tithes upon them in any form would hinder conversion since it would lead them to believe that the primary object of Christianization was to gain money rather than to save souls. Furthermore, under the royal plan of tithe distribution, only part of the tithes would go to further parish churches; the greater part would go to swell the already large revenues of the bishops and their chapters. If tithes were levied, the gatherers would bully the Indians and extort far more than they were entitled to collect. As a final argument against assessing tithes even upon crops introduced from Spain, the friars reported that the attempt to exact such a levy had led most of the Indians to stop raising these crops.⁴⁸

For their part, the bishops pointed out that New Spain was too vast and its Indians too numerous for the existing parish and missionary organization; only through tithes could the additional priests needed be trained and supported. In indirect contradiction of the plea that the Indians were too poor to pay tithes, Bishop Zárate reported in 1544 that the natives of his diocese were rich and well treated; it was the Spanish who were poor and dissatisfied. As for the argument that the Indians would cease raising Spanish crops and livestock if forced to tithe on them, wrote Archbishop Montúfar in 1556, the Indians never grew more than they were compelled to or needed; the fact that they already were held to tithe on crops raised on lands rented or bought from Spaniards did not deter them from renting or buying such lands. The burden upon the Indians from tithes, he charged, would be less than that resulting from misuse of the community treasuries by the friars. In opposing the imposition of tithes, the regulars were not defending the Indians so much as fighting the extension of secular control over the parishes.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ For example, Reply of the friars of the three orders, Mexico, January 20, 1557; The lords and principal Indians of the more important provinces and cities of New Spain to the king, Mexico, February 25, 1560, in Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* . . . (5 vols., México, 1886-1892), IV, 1-18 and 131-132 respectively. The arguments of both sides are summarized in Robert Ricard, *La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique* . . . (Paris, 1933), 299-301, and in Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección*, I, xxi.

⁴⁹ For example, Bishop Zárate to the prince, Mexico, May 30, 1544, and Archbishop Montúfar to the Council of the Indies, Mexico, May 15, 1556, *Colección de documentos . . . de Indias*, VII, 550-551; IV, 491-530 respectively.

Basically the controversy was a struggle for control of the parishes, but the arguments of the friars had sufficient truth to make the crown hesitate and hold exhaustive inquiries, which only proved that the differing views were as sharply opposed as ever. In 1546, by royal command, the meeting of church dignitaries convoked by the visitador Tello de Sandoval, debated the entire matter of Indian tithes, but could come to no final decision. Apparently the bishops and provincials agreed that no new tithes should be levied, but did not urge revocation of the *cédulas* already issued.⁵⁰ Nine years later, in an attempt to settle the matter, the royal government ordered an even more exhaustive inquiry. The audiencia and viceroy were to take testimony from thirty-six witnesses—twelve chosen to represent the Indians, another twelve to represent the archbishop and bishops, and another twelve selected from the royal officials, presumably to represent the state. Once the testimony had been taken, it was to be discussed with the episcopate and the principal friars, all of whom then were to submit written opinions. The whole mass of testimony and opinions, together with the viceroy's recommendations, finally, was to be forwarded to the crown for its decision. Meanwhile no further steps were to be taken and each diocese was to observe the practice developed in the time of Zumárraga.⁵¹ As in 1546 the royal commands were carried out, but the royal ministers could reach no decision acceptable to all sides. The dispute flared up again in 1559-1560;⁵² and

⁵⁰ Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano* . . . (2nd ed., 9 vols., Madrid, 1726[-1727]), *déc.* VII, lib. V, c. viii; Reply of the friars of the three orders, Mexico, January 20, 1557, in Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección*, IV, 16-17. Unfortunately, there is not available a direct report on the proceedings of the meeting. Tello de Sandoval himself urged the king either to order that the Indians pay tithes or to pay salaries to the missionaries and parish priests out of the royal treasury. Tello de Sandoval to Prince Philip, Mexico, September 9, 1545, Paso y Troncoso, IV, 214.

⁵¹ Cédula of the princess to the audiencia of Mexico, Valladolid, September 14, 1555, Puga, II, 250-257. The order was repeated two years later and the decision of the First Mexican Church Council to the effect that the Indians pay tithes was suspended. Cédula of the princess to the audiencia of Mexico, Valladolid, April 10, 1557, Puga, II, 293-296.

⁵² Provincials of the three orders to the king, Mexico, February 25, 1561, Spain. Ministerio de fomento, *Cartas de Indias* . . . (Madrid, 1877), 147-148.

this time, in 1562, the council of Mexico City, which spoke for the encomenderos, begged the king to reach a decision whatever it might be, but at least a decision, so that his subjects might know what they must pay and the scandal might end.⁵³ Despite this petition the crown could only rebuke both sides and repeat its previous orders that the custom of the time of Zumárraga be kept.⁵⁴ In 1571 the visitador, Juan de Ovando, collected information on the question without coming to any more definite conclusion than previous investigators.⁵⁵

For all its hesitations and conscience-searchings, the crown never found a more satisfactory compromise than that advanced by Mendoza. This the friars would not accept. The best the crown could do, therefore, was to continue its temporary measure; at intervals between 1555 and 1605 the king repeated his order that the custom prevailing in the time of Zumárraga be observed without innovation.⁵⁶ Eventually both sides accepted this arrangement as final. In Mexican colonial practice this meant that Indians everywhere were bound to pay tithes on crops raised on land leased or bought from Spaniards,⁵⁷ and that caciques, "por ser reputados españoles," were required to turn over a tenth of all tributes paid them, in the same fashion as Spanish encomenderos. The friars never objected to these levies. Indians also were bound to pay tithes on crops introduced from Spain, especially wheat, silk, and livestock, but the dioceses instead of farming out such tithes had themselves to collect and they might require the Indians to pay only on crops and to the extent to which each

⁵³ Mexico (City). *Actas de cabildo* . . . (77 vols., Mexico, 1884-1905), VII, 11.

⁵⁴ Archbishop of Mexico, bishop of Michoacán, and representatives of other dioceses to the king, México, April 30, 1562, and Archbishop of Mexico to the king, México, April 30, 1562, Paso y Troncoso, IX, 170-171 and 177-180 respectively; *Recopilación*, lib. I, tit. XVI, ley xiii.

⁵⁵ Fray Jerónimo de Mendieta to Juan de Ovando, ca. April-May, 1571, Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección*, I, 117-118. This expresses a much more moderate view than the earlier letters from the friars.

⁵⁶ *Recopilación*, lib. I, tit. XVI, ley xiii; Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana* . . . (new ed., 5 vols., Madrid and Buenos Aires [1930], lib. II, c. XXIII, #20-39.

⁵⁷ *Gobernación espiritual y temporal de las Indias*, in *Colección de documentos . . . de Ultramar*, XX, 192; Archbishop of Mexico to the Council of the Indies, México, May 15, 1556, *Colección de documentos . . . de Indias*, IV, 523-524.

district had tithed in the time of Zumárraga. Determining what had been the custom provided ample ground for further dispute if any were needed.⁵⁸

In the case of Oaxaca, this solution proved more favorable to the seculars and was arrived at more easily than perhaps in any other bishopric of New Spain. Zárate's episcopate covered the test years when the custom was formed, without a break, and being a poor man with relatives to support, he collected every tax allowed under the royal concessions. During the 1540's the friars, then just establishing missions in the diocese,⁵⁹ were too weak to protest these levies, and by 1555 the maximum possible had been fixed as the custom. The bishopric also was fortunate in that its seculars shared the parishes only with Dominicans. It was much easier to come to terms with one order than with three, all the more so since the second and third bishops both were influential members of the order.⁶⁰ Because of this last fact the Dominicans were more inclined to accept what otherwise would have been too stiff a settlement. As a result, besides the uncontroversial levies upon the tributes of caciques and upon lands once held by Spaniards, the Indians of Oaxaca were held to tithe upon all crops introduced from Spain. Only wheat, silk, and livestock were important in the sixteenth century, but, as the raising of other crops spread in later years, the precedent set by Zárate yielded an ever-increasing profit. Furthermore, religious confraternities and community treasuries also were required to tithe upon crops which the Indians raised to supply them with revenues—not only upon European crops but even upon indigenous ones like maize which were exempt when grown by the individual natives. As late as the eighteenth

⁵⁸ Pastoral letter of Manuel José Rubio y Salinas, archbishop of Mexico, on the payment of tithes, Mexico, September 28, 1764 ([Mexico, 1764]); Pastoral letter of Tomás Montañón, bishop of Oaxaca, on tithes, Oaxaca, March 16, 1740 ([Oaxaca, ca. 1806]); Provincials of the three orders to the king, México, February 25, 1561, *Cartas de Indias*, 147-148; *Recopilación*, lib. I, tít. XVI, ley xiii; *Concilium mexicanum provinciale III* . . . (2nd ed., México, 1770), lib. III, tít. XII, c. i; Fonseca and Urrutia, III, 176.

⁵⁹ Bishop Zárate to the prince, Mexico, May 30, 1544, *Colección de documentos . . . de Indias*, VII, 543-544.

⁶⁰ Gay, I, 392-396; II, 95-96; López de Velasco, 227.

century the archdiocese of Mexico was unable to impose so sweeping a levy.⁶¹

Only one serious difficulty arose because of an attempt by the friars to secure a more favorable settlement. In the Mixteca, cathedral collections covered a territory which to a great extent was under Dominican control. Wherever the parishes were held by secular priests, tithes could be and were collected from the Indians in full. Wherever the parishes were occupied by Dominicans, however, they proceeded to enforce their own idea of the proper distribution of revenue. Tithes were paid, but the canons received only the royal two ninths of one half and the shares of the bishop and of the cathedral chapter. The part which would have gone to the fund for construction and repair of the cathedral, as well as the friars' share as parish priests, was retained by them or by the community treasuries. For example, the cathedral fund received only 20 pesos 3 tomines in 1568 of a total share of 63 pesos 1 tomín due on tithes from the Indians of the Mixteca; in 1598 it received only 136 out of 459 pesos. The difference, the Dominicans of the Mixteca kept for their parochial churches. This arrangement, although regarded at first as outright seizure by the canons, soon hardened into custom. It was the price imposed by the Dominicans for acquiescing in the far-reaching levies inaugurated by Zárate, and may well have been decided upon only after his death gave them their chance;⁶² as a former provincial of the order, Bishop Alburquerque, could be depended upon not to protest too much. Outside the Mixteca the Dominicans also tried to impose a similar arrangement but were unable to overcome the opposition of the canons.⁶³

⁶¹ Pastoral letter of Tomás Montaña, Oaxaca, March 16, 1740; Pastoral letter of Rubio y Salinas, México, September 28, 1764.

⁶² *Libro de cargo y descargo del mayordomo, 1563-1604, cargos de 1568, 1599, y 1601, et passim*; Seventeen Indian governors of towns of the Mixteca to the king, January 20, 1560, Paso y Troncoso, IX, 1; The *Códice Sierra* . . . (México, 1906-1933), *passim*, shows the operation of this plan in the Mixtecan town of Santa Catarina Texupa. The earliest entry which shows retention of part of the tithe is that for 1559.

⁶³ Twelve Indian governors of towns of the province of Los Zapotecas to the king, January 17, 1560, Paso y Troncoso, IX, 1. About 1566 the crown sent out a

Under the royal compromise the cathedral of Oaxaca was forced to adopt some method of direct administration however much it might have preferred to farm out Indian tithes along with its ordinary revenues.⁶⁴ During the sixteenth century the diocese developed no special machinery and hired no special fiscal agents. Instead, the canons and cathedral officials themselves went out to the villages and took the church's share. They could do so effectively because Indian production in Oaxaca largely was concentrated in community enterprises; in most of the towns the canons only had to interview the village officers, inspect their books, and accept payment of the tithe.

Collection centered upon the two principal areas where the Indians raised tithable crops, the Mixteca and the series of valleys comprising the Central Valley of Oaxaca. The Indians of the Central Valley were nowhere more than a few days' journey from the cathedral, and collection from them involved little difficulty. To facilitate matters even more, the canons probably had the tithes brought to central points, perhaps even to the city of Oaxaca. In the case of the Mixteca, collection meant a painful journey lasting weeks or even months,

general order that this scheme be observed, and that the tithes of the dioceses be farmed out by parishes—the only method by which the amount due each parish could be known. The archbishop and cathedral chapter of Mexico, acting for all of the bishoprics of New Spain, at once protested, and at their petition, the audiencia suspended operation of the order until the king could pass upon the protests of the seculars. In their letters to the king, the archbishop and his chapter declared that, if the order were enforced, cathedral revenues would become too small to meet the salaries of the chapter and to continue construction of the cathedral of Mexico City; the archbishop further pointed out that farming out tithes by parishes would increase greatly the expense of collection. Apparently these arguments were successful, for only in 1786 did the crown again issue an order that the share of the cathedral in the construction fund be limited thereafter to the amount raised in its own parish. Archbishop of Mexico to the king, Mexico, March 15, 1568, and Archdeacon and three prebendaries of Mexico to the king, Mexico, March 20, 1568, *Paso y Troncoso*, X, 229-231 and 233-239 respectively; Royal Cédula, San Ildefonso, August 23, 1786, Eusebio Buenaventura Beleña, *Recopilación sumaria de todos los autos acordados . . .* (2 vols., México, 1787), II, 149-151.

⁶⁴ Tithes due on the tributes of caciques and on crops raised on lands rented or bought from Spaniards may have been farmed out with ordinary revenues rather than handled through this special system reserved for Indian tithes. The records of the Archive of the Cathedral of Oaxaca contain no information on this point.

but the area was one of the richest in Mexico. Each year, therefore, a canon, starting from Oaxaca City, toured the Mixteca to receive the cathedral's due on the year's increase of livestock and the harvest of wheat and silk, and returned to the cathedral with the proceeds.

In these two favorable areas the bishopric could avoid the need for much storage and transportation of tithes in kind, which not only would have taxed the primitive machinery but would have threatened to eat up returns. If the Indians of the Central Valley chose to pay in kind rather than in species, their pigs, goats, sheep, cattle, maize, and the famous golden wheat of Etla always could be disposed of quickly in the Spanish city, which was chronically short of foodstuffs. In the Mixteca, where the problem might have been more serious, payment generally was made in money, and the Indians were wealthy enough to buy up the small amount of tithes paid in cattle and wheat. Only the few pounds of silk turned over by some communities instead of specie were brought back to Oaxaca City, probably because a better price could be secured from the Spanish artisans of the city.

Other areas within the diocese, such as the districts of Tehuantepec and Coatzacoalcos, which lay at considerable distances from the cathedral, were ignored until the next century.⁶⁵ Unlike the Mixteca, the Indians living in them did not raise large quantities of tithable crops, and sending out a canon to these regions would have entailed more expense than Indian tithes were worth.

This method of collection was a make-shift, almost casual affair, skimming the cream of Indian tithes, but it was developed to meet special circumstances. As late as 1568 Indian tithes from the Central Valley came only to 801 pesos—303 pesos 6 tomines for cattle; 398 pesos 2 tomines for pigs, sheep, and goats; and 99 pesos for the wheat of Etla. That same year

⁶⁵ *Libro de cargo y descargo del mayordomo, 1563-1604, passim.* The Oaxacan system was much more primitive than that of the archbishopric of Mexico. Zumárraga and Montúfar appointed two Indians in each town to gather the tithes and had a canon make the rounds of the archdiocese, collecting from these agents and inspecting their accounts. Archbishop Montúfar to the Council of the Indies, Mexico, May 15, 1556, *Colección de documentos . . . de Indias*, IV, 491-492, 513.

the total yield of Indian tithes for the Mixteca came to 1077 pesos 6 tomines.⁶⁶ These figures give a total Indian tithe of 1878 pesos 6 tomines—a welcome addition to the bishopric's revenues from tithe farms but scarcely sufficient to allow a more elaborate collection system. For all the crudeness of the method used, it gave the bishopric a substantial return.

During the remaining years of the sixteenth century, it is true, greatly increased Indian raising of European crops and animals and the extension of community treasuries soon changed the situation. In 1598 the total Indian tithes of the Mixteca amounted to 5468 pesos 5 tomines. The following year, 1599, the tithe on the wheat of Etla and the neighboring town of Huajolotitlán alone came to 900 pesos, or to more than all of the Indian tithes collected in the Central Valley thirty years before.⁶⁷ At this rate of increase Indian crop production in all districts probably would have repaid collection and would have supported the expense of a system of paid agents covering the diocese. By this time, too, the size of the sums involved must have made it difficult for the canons to handle collections. At the turn of the century, however, the old system was firmly established; wasteful though it was for the bishopric as a whole, it returned rapidly increasing yields; and under these circumstances the diocesan hierarchy was disinclined to undertake the expense of a more highly organized fiscal system.

The bishopric of Oaxaca emerged from the controversy with the friars with a dual system of collection. Tithes due from Spaniards and mestizos, it farmed out; those due from Indians, it administered directly. The first method represented its own preference, the second an imposition it had no choice but to accept. Compared with modern fiscal systems,

⁶⁶ *Libro de cargo y descargo del mayordomo, 1563-1604, cargos de 1568 y 1570.* The figures given above are calculated upon the basis of the royal share, which was 119 pesos 6 tomines for the Mixteca and 89 pesos for the Central Valley—33 pesos 6 tomines on cattle, 44 pesos 2 tomines on sheep, goats, etc., and 11 pesos on the wheat of Etla.

⁶⁷ *Libro de cargo y descargo del mayordomo, 1563-1604, cargos de 1598 y 1599.* The figure for the Mixteca again is based upon the royal two ninths of one half—607 pesos 5 tomines. The figure for Etla is based upon the combined shares of the king and church construction fund—175 pesos—which are lumped together in the account for 1599.

the two methods were primitive and wasteful. Furthermore, either used alone would have been more economical. The operation of both over the same territory really benefited no one, except perhaps the friars. The bishopric lost revenue through doubled costs of tithe gathering, for, in addition to the margin of the farmers, it had to pay the expenses of its canons on their journeys of collection. As for the Indians, the protection they were to be afforded by direct administration existed only on paper. Most of the tithes levied upon Spanish and mestizos came from a tenth of tributes, and were paid in reality by the Indians. In collecting these the publican came into as close contact with them as did the canon, and had the opportunity for extortion of which he was to be deprived. An equally serious defect of the system was that the bishopric never developed an effective agency of supervision. Bids, contracts, reports, and payments were made before the full council. Throughout the sixteenth century the cathedral authorities never made the simple improvement of delegating some of their members as permanent agents to supervise collections and to check accounts.

Despite all these defects, however, the Oaxacan system was a satisfactory and even an impressive achievement for the time. Inefficient though its methods of collection may appear, they nevertheless yielded sizeable returns in a region where the expenses of a more thorough system would have reduced net revenue. Armed with the comprehensive royal schedule developed during the century, the diocese was able to enforce payment from all classes and groups within its boundaries. It obtained at least a reasonable compromise from the friars, and during the sixteenth century that was more than the archdiocese of Mexico could do. While accepting the royal plan for distribution of tithes, the diocesan authorities managed to circumvent the most onerous features of royal ownership by quiet, persistent pressure upon the local treasury agents. At the end of the sixteenth century, they had settled all serious problems and had gained almost complete control of tithe collections within the bishopric.

WOODROW BORAH.

ANTONIO DE SAN JOSÉ MURO:
POLITICAL ECONOMIST OF NEW SPAIN

At the end of the eighteenth century the last of the reforms instituted under the Bourbon dynasty for the government of New Spain were being put into effect. The names of Revillagigedo, Gálvez, Croix, and Bucareli, among others, are well known as sponsors or administrators of economic, political, and military readjustments. Also on the scene, but obscured, were less famed writers and theorists: men who discussed the pros and cons of the recent reforms through publications, private correspondence, and before public bodies. Such a person was Antonio de San José Muro, a Bethlehemite friar and spokesman for the middle classes.

Muro was born in Spain about 1736 and came to America as a young man of nineteen or twenty. He lived at least fifty years longer in various parts of Spain's American colonies, including the Antilles, Peru, and New Spain.¹ In 1772 he was in Peru, and twelve years later his religious duties took him to New Spain where he remained at least until 1805.² His activities as an investigator and writer on economic matters earned him election as Socio de Mérito to the Real Sociedad Económica de Guatemala, and to a similar organization in Tudela de Navarra, "mi patria."³

The "poor Bethlehemite hospitaler friar" began his writings in 1772, and by 1778 he had completed eight papers for submission to the royal authorities. These included a "Demonstration of the decadent condition of the Viceroyalty [of New Spain]: its true causes; and just, natural and simple remedies"; an appendix or supplement to the above; a project for outfitting colonizing expeditions in Acapulco for the conquest

¹ Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico. "Solicitud del P. Fr. Antonio de San José Muro pidiendo permiso para imprimir varios discursos, y proyectos suyos," *Ramo Civil*, t. 2133, exp. 12, pp. 7-8, 103. These documents, identified hereinafter by the name Muro, supply the basis for the present study. Page numbers were applied by the present writer.

² Muro, 54, 165.

³ Muro, 13.

of the land discovered in 1779 on the "south coast" to 60° north latitude; proposals for the amortization of the royal debt; customs reforms, especially designed to eliminate the harmful *arreglo de toneladas*; a demonstration of the harm and waste of the tobacco monopoly; a paper in opposition to the making of rum (*chinquirito*); and a series of reflections on miscellaneous subjects such as the *flota* system, quotas on foreign importations, and the establishment of a national bank.⁴

In a letter of February 23, 1789, covering the submission of the above named papers, Muro explained his objectives in writing. His principal aim was to increase the total movement of goods in trade by abolishing the old restrictions, lowering prices, and thus making more merchandise available to low-income groups. If the backward state of the trade between Peru and New Spain "... were published in Europe for those ignorant of it, it would be considered unbelievable. But there is no doubt of it." Only the monopolists, interested in their huge profits, were opposed to effective liberation in commercial affairs.⁵

From this date Muro was very active in further writing and publicizing his views. He proposed plans for increasing the trade between America and Asia, for strengthening defenses and the revival of a strong navy, and for the improvement of public morality and living conditions in the colonies.⁶ In the winter of 1799-1800 he proposed that a congress of patriots be held to discuss problems of colonial defense, but his proposal brought forth no response. Public disputes carried on in the columns of the *Gazeta de Guatemala* about the same time demonstrate the existence of such an agency for discussion and also yield the names of other writers engaged in similar activities. These included a Licenciado Zorrilla and a Señor Chirimía.⁷

Through his letters and actions Muro revealed himself to be belligerent and contentious in support of his proposals. In a letter to the queen, dated Oaxaca, February 4, 1794, he attacked as erroneous and harmful the ideas of Bernardo

⁴ Muro, 54-55.

⁵ Muro, 56-63.

⁶ Muro, 9-12, 46-53.

⁷ Muro, 2, 6-7.

Ward, the Royal Economic Society of Spain, and the Consulado of Barcelona in its *Representaciones* of 1788. He claimed it would be difficult to get competent judges of his economic proposals, which he offered to defend in open debate, but submitted the name of Nicolás de Arriquibar as a qualified person who had published two volumes of *Recreaciones Políticas*. During forty years spent in the Americas Muro had been impressed by the thinking of only three public figures: the Archbishop of Santa Fé, Jorge Escovedo y Alarcón of the Council of the Indies, and Viceroy Revillagigedo. The last seems to have been a protector or patron of his.⁸

As he grew older Muro's intractability increased. His refusal to accept the prelacy of the Oaxaca *convento* in 1800 began a prolonged dispute with the vice-general of his order, José de San Ignacio. Muro bitterly resisted the appointment, feeling that he would be buried under administrative duties and unable to promote his ideas.⁹ Through pressure and the promise of clerical assistance in the preparation of his papers he was induced to take over the office during the winter of 1801-1802. The promise, however, was somewhat treacherously revoked by the Fiscal de Hacienda, and Muro resigned himself to doing his work without financial assistance. The next few years, he wrote in June, 1805, were a period of "profound silence" because he lacked the money for a clerk and supplies.¹⁰

Unfortunately, the recently found documents do not include copies of Muro's various *proyectos*, with the exception of one rather lengthy paper concerning the Vera Cruz trade. This document, dated May, 1805, was probably written for publication in the *Gazeta de Guatemala*. It was ostensibly designed to be a defense of "mi amigo Zorrilla" whose publications had been attacked by an anonymous "Sr. Impugnador" in articles which appeared in the *Gazeta* in February, 1805. Muro's paper consists of eighty-two numbered paragraphs, and their contents may profitably be examined for the light they throw on trade practices at Vera Cruz and the zeal shown by the friar in promoting the interests of middle-class merchants.

⁸ Muro, 18-20, 132.

⁹ Muro, 80-103, 109-110.

¹⁰ Muro, 111-122, 162.

Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century, goods imported through Vera Cruz in the *flotas* had been transshipped and sold at irregularly held trade fairs in Jalapa. Fourteen such fairs were held between 1720 and 1776. One of the commercial reforms of Charles III had been the abolition of this system and the institution of a direct transfer of goods at the port of entry, thereby presumably saving commissions and freight expenses.¹¹ In 1805, according to Muro, a recent viceregal order had, in part, temporarily revived the old system to avoid the English danger by removing the storehouses, customs, and trading activities to Jalapa and Orizaba. A public dispute was going on about the advisability of this legislation, but the friar did not intend to enter it. He strongly favored Jalapa and Orizaba as permanent market centers, but his remarks refer to a future time when tranquility will have been restored.¹²

It has been claimed, notably by H. I. Priestley, that the abolition of the *flota* system and the Jalapa fairs resulted in the growth of "... a new class of merchants, who, investing smaller sums, were content with smaller profits."¹³ Muro's arguments vigorously refute this conclusion. For a combination of reasons the Vera Cruz trading families had continued to maintain an exclusive hold on the trade, going so far as to inflict physical punishment on their critics.¹⁴

The continuation of monopolistic trade practices at Vera Cruz, Muro said, arose largely from yellow fever—*vómito prieto*—which was a constant danger and particularly virulent during the rainy season. Thousands of small traders were prevented by fear of the disease from going to the port "... to buy and sell at first hand, according to the natural order of things." Thus the Veracruzanos—or rather, some three dozen of them—continued their control, in large part by acting as commission agents or factors. As such they often cheated and robbed their principals through altering prices and imposing illegal delays in buying and selling. Attempts to get goods moved to Jalapa, which was legal under the

¹¹ Herbert I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771)* (Berkeley, 1916), pp. 22-23, 385.

¹² Muro, 166-167.

¹³ Priestley, *op. cit.*, pp. 384-385.

¹⁴ Muro, 163.

Reglamento of 1788, were sabotaged by corrupt customs officials who, working in the interests of the monopolists, imposed excessive tax burdens on such merchandise movements.¹⁵

Muro continued his indictment by accusing the Veracruzanos of raising prices through artificial shortages, the same charge which was made against them before the liberation of commercial restrictions. English attacks had started in the autumn of 1804, and since then little had been imported. Yet the warehouses were overstocked with merchandise—about 30,000 tons of twenty *quintales* each, or enough to load a *recua* of 150,000 mules with burdens of sixteen *arrobas* each. Through the possession of these stocks the merchants could control prices of goods in times of war or peace, scarcity or abundance. For example, at the outbreak of hostilities they set the price of a barrel of wine at one hundred pesos, and only vigorous action by the government brought about a more reasonable price.¹⁶

With apparently some inconsistency, the friar-economist claimed that Spanish subjects were frightened from establishing businesses in Vera Cruz, but that the immense profits from the trade (valued at forty million pesos annually) attracted “reckless” foreign youths. Although only one in ten of them, aspirants for membership in the *gremio*, attain the age of forty, yet even this small number means a foothold for foreigners. It is generally agreed to be an “elementary principle” that this is contrary to national interest.¹⁷ Muro also decried the storing of goods in Vera Cruz for long periods of time, and the resultant economic waste of spoilage through the ravages of pests and the malignant climate. Although the Sr. Impugnador claimed that insects attacked merchandise in Jalapa, Muro editorialized that these had attacked the very merchants of the port, resulting in a lethargy which was further aggravated by their great profits. Only the heavy hand of the king could move them.¹⁸

So much for the charges leveled against the Vera Cruz merchants and their monopolistic practices. The remedies, ac-

¹⁵ Muro, 179-182, 184-187. Corrupt practices at Vera Cruz had long been customary as Gálvez discovered in his *visita* to that port. Priestley, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

¹⁶ Muro, 183-184.

¹⁷ Muro, 181-183.

¹⁸ Muro, 193-195.

according to Muro, would be the establishment of permanent open markets at Jalapa and Orizaba to which would be brought the goods entering the port. This would not only mitigate the evils already described, but would also result in additional benefits. Thousands of families, rather than a few, would form a new and experienced merchant class to share in the profits of the trade, and with no harm to the general population of Vera Cruz. Permanent and open depots would keep trade in its properly competitive state and prevent the formation of extra-legal monopolies. Prices would be lower, the exchange of goods stimulated, and the geographical horizons of markets widened. Because the unloading and sailing of ships at Vera Cruz would be greatly facilitated, the sailors so necessary to national defense would be better protected against yellow fever. And contraband trading would be greatly reduced.¹⁹

It is not the intention of the author to describe in detail Muro's proposals about the organization of transport facilities between Vera Cruz and Jalapa, and his prophecies concerning the future growth of the latter city, and the assistance the increased population would furnish to the defense of the colony.²⁰ These are speculative in nature and therefore of less interest than the foregoing materials which furnish an insight into actual conditions. Nonetheless it is of some interest to take note of his observations concerning the English and the Anglo-Americans. The latter, he wrote, "... rear their sons with the ambitious desire to conquer Mexico," and he foresaw a northern invasion of New Spain by way of Texas and New Mexico coinciding with an English naval attack on Vera Cruz. He therefore suggested that in addition to strengthening the defenses of the port, the government would be well advised to fortify the right bank of the Mississippi.²¹ It is obvious that Muro was ignorant of the sale of the Louisiana territory or, more likely, of the extent of the land involved.

In the last few pages of the *proyecto* Muro recapitulated his charges and the remedies proposed. He concluded by

¹⁹ Muro, 200-203.

²⁰ Muro, 203-227.

²¹ Muro, 227-228.

promising that if Sr. Impugnador published more material worthy of an answer he would again enter the argument. He signed the article "El que promueve la causa de Dios, del Rey y Pública."²²

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²² Muro, 229-246.

THE HISTORIC GAUCHO

The gaucho has been variously portrayed as dashing cavalryman, successful lover, singing minstrel of the plains, noble defender of the unfortunate. Connected with all such concepts is a vague, unromantic association of the gaucho with cows, coupled with a tacit recognition of his skill in their pursuit. In this composite concept there is, indeed, some truth; its fallacy derives from the fallacy of a basic assumption—the essential nobility of the gaucho character. It involves as well a fallacy of misplaced emphasis.

For the gaucho of history was by no means idyllic in character.¹ Fundamentally he was a colonial bootlegger whose business was contraband trade in cattle hides. His work was highly illegal; his character lamentably reprehensible; his social standing exceedingly low.

This paper is a study of the emergence of an extra-legal class of society. It is based upon contemporary records and reflects society's successive contempt and fear of its despicable contrabandists as they increased in number and in power. Indeterminate at first and variously known as *gauderio*, *changador*, or *gaucho*—though such terms were all usually accompanied by highly uncomplimentary adjectives—the gaucho class grew to a power which won fear—and admiration, when gauchos became profitable rather than detrimental to society. But such admiration was a late development.

In its beginning the gauderio or gaucho class was highly disreputable. Early contemporary descriptions of the gaucho are uniformly uncomplimentary. Henis in 1754 tells of "Paulistas who have the property and custom of selling what

¹ To get a picture of the real gaucho, one must turn to contemporary records and piece together the fragments of evidence so found. This, incidentally, is not the usual procedure encountered in studies on the gaucho. Of all these records, those by observant travellers are doubtless the best. A foreigner would be more apt to note the appearance and manners of a distinct class of society than one made unobservant by familiarity.

is not their's and who are called gauderios."² Concolorcorvo, in 1773, writes of "many lazy creoles" who are most appropriately called gauderios.³ His gauderios seem to be different from the general run, however, in that they pass their time in song rather than in crime. They have a guitar which they learn to play very badly; they sing out of tune; yet they pass whole weeks stretched at length on a hide, singing and playing. He defines gauderios as "young fellows born in Montevideo and neighboring districts," but the gauderios he describes at length are those in Tucumán. The verses, or *coplas*, which they sing are "very extravagant" and treat of love; again, they are "horrible." "These gauderios make no other provision save storing a large piece of meat under their *ramada* or often exposed to the inclemency of the weather; their whole regalement is based on this provision. Their furniture is limited to a bad bed, a worse covering, a pot, and a stick to serve as spit for roasting their meat, saddle, bridle, blankets; they have lassos and bolas in order to replace their horses and to pass their time simply in violent races or impertinent visits. These people . . . form the greater part of the inhabitants of Tucumán."⁴ Dávila (1773 and 1774) mentions one mulatto who "leads the gauderio life" and another who is a "known gaucho and thief."⁵ Haedo in 1778 mentions a class with "neither goods and chattels nor real estate to hold them in one place." They "are wandering from province to province, occupied in gambling and many other vices, committing robberies on the highways, stealing cattle, living in the woods. They cannot be subdued because of the general insecurity of the jails and because there is no prison to which they may be sent for safe keeping."⁶ He does not actually

² P. Tadeo Xavier Henis, "Diario histórico de la rebelión y guerra de los pueblos guaraníes, situados en la costa oriental del río Uruguay (1754)," in Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata* (5 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910), IV, 244.

³ Calixto Bustamante Carlos ("Concolorcorvo"), *El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes desde Buenos Aires hasta Lima, 1773* (Buenos Aires, Junta de historia y numismática americana, Biblioteca, IV), p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 134, 135, 143.

⁵ Martiniano Leguizamón, *La cuna del gaucho* (Buenos Aires, 1935), p. 20.

⁶ Felipe de Haedo, "Descripción de la Colonia del Sacramento y puertos del

name this class gaucho or gauderio, but it is obvious that they are meant. In 1780 Viceroy Vértiz reported gauderios who were causing him trouble "on the other shore."⁷ Aguirre was in Uruguay in 1783 though his diary was published later. He mentions both gauchos and gauderios. In addition to the country people holding estancias of considerable size, there are many who have no property and who are known as gauchos. "Gauchos or gauderios . . . are people who, taking advantage of the solitude of this land, have, among other skills, that of slaughtering cattle for their hides. It is said that the number of men who are engaged in this business mounts into the thousands. Changadores . . . are gauderios who kill cattle without any government permit to do so."⁸ Azara was in the country in the early 1780's. While his *Historia de los cuadrúpedos* was published posthumously, it dated from the same general period as the *Viajes* and the *Descripción e historia de La Plata y del Paraguay*—1784. In the last work, after describing the ordinary inhabitants of the country (the descendants of the Spanish *vaqueros*), he adds,

"Besides the said people, there is in that land, and particularly around Montevideo and Maldonado, another class of people, most appropriately called gauchos or gauderios. Commonly all are criminals escaped from the jails of Spain and Brazil, or they belong to the number of those who, because of their atrocities, have had to flee to the wilderness. Their nakedness, their long beards, their ever uncombed hair, and the uncleanness and brutishness of their appearance, make them horrible to see. For no motive or interest will they work for anyone, and besides being thieves, they also make off with women. These they take to the woods, and they live with them in huts, catching wild cattle for their food. When the gaucho has some necessity or caprice to satisfy, he steals a few horses or cows, takes them to Brazil where he sells them and where he gets whatever it is he needs."⁹

Río de la Plata al norte y sud de Buenos Aires (1778)," in *Revista del Río de la Plata* (13 vols., Buenos Aires, 1871-1877), III, 462.

⁷ Juan José de Vértiz (El marqués de Sobremonte), "Memoria (1784)," in Buenos Aires, Archivo general, *Revista* (4 vols., Buenos Aires, 1869-1872), III, 462.

⁸ Juan Francisco Aguirre, "Diario," in Buenos Aires, Biblioteca nacional, *Anales* (10 vols., Buenos Aires, 1900-1915), IV, 138, 147.

⁹ Félix de Azara, *Descripción e historia del Paraguay y del Río de la Plata* (2 vols., Madrid, 1847), II, 310.

Azara also mentioned "the country workers who are called peons, horsemen, gauchos, camiluchos, and gauderios";¹⁰ gauchos and changadores are "the dregs of the Río de la Plata and of Brazil."¹¹ Alvear's *Diario* (1784-1791) is in kindlier tone in that he defines gauchos and gauderios merely as "country-men."¹² In 1785 Doblas mentions gauderios in Uruguay, though he limits his description to their work in contraband. "They go about . . . killing cattle so as to make use of their hides,"¹³ which they forward to Montevideo or, with the aid of the Portuguese of the Viamont and the river Pardo, direct to Brazil. They also drive cattle to these northern allies. A report of Viceroy Arredondo in 1790 mentions "the destructive hands"¹⁴ of gauderios and changadores. Pedro de Lerena in the same year tells of "vagabonds, otherwise known as gauchos, who live by stealing cattle from the estancias and selling the hides at less than their real value to the *pulperos* (shopkeepers) scattered over the countryside. So they provide daily for their desires;¹⁵ neither the cattle owner nor the government can prevent it."¹⁶ Lastarria, in 1805, gives a more complete picture of "our peaceful countrymen."

These men will not fail to astonish one who is not accustomed to see them. They are always dirty; their beards are always uncut; they go barefoot, and even trouserless under the cover-all of the poncho. By their manners, ways, and clothing one knows their customs, without sensibility and almost without religion. They are called gauchos,

¹⁰ — "Apuntamientos para la historia natural de los cuadrúpedos del Paraguay y Río de la Plata," in Argentine Republic, Ministerio de agricultura, *Anales* (Buenos Aires, 1900), p. 4.

¹¹ — "Geografía física y esférica de las provincias del Paraguay y Misiones Guaraníes (1790)," in Montevideo, Museo nacional, *Anales del museo de Montevideo*, I (Montevideo, 1904), 116.

¹² Diego de Alvear, "Diario de la segunda partida demarcadora de límites en la América Meridional," in Buenos Aires, Biblioteca nacional, *Anales*, I, 320-321.

¹³ Gonzalo de Doblas, *Memoria . . . sobre la Provincia de Misiones de Indios Guaraníes* (1785), Buenos Aires, 1836, p. 55.

¹⁴ Nicolás de Arredondo, "Informe (1795)," in Buenos Aires, Biblioteca nacional, *Revista* (4 vols., Buenos Aires, 1879-1882), III, 325.

¹⁵ In this connection the term *vicios* (vices, desires) implies such luxuries as yerba mate, tobacco, aguardiente, saddle equipment, or articles of clothing.

¹⁶ Pedro de Lerena, in Buenos Aires, Universidad nacional, Facultad de filosofía y letras, *Documentos para la historia argentina* (14 vols., Buenos Aires, 1913-1921), VI, 455.

camiluchos, or gauderios. As it is very easy for them to kill cattle for food, since none lack a horse, bolas, lasso, and knife with which to catch and kill a cow, or as anyone will give them food free, and since they are satisfied to have nothing but roast meat to eat, they work only to acquire the tobacco they smoke and the Paraguayan yerba mate which they drink, ordinarily without sugar and as many times a day as possible. Or they may work to obtain gifts for their sweethearts, who, not being quite so dirty—and on the contrary rather inclined to change and improve their clothing—will finally excite sensibility and self-esteem (in the men) so that they may become rivals for their preference by presenting a less shocking appearance. Such is . . . the lowest class of the peasantry.¹⁷

This was the real gaucho—not the figure of romance, and later fiction of history and of literature. He lived outside the law; in this respect he differed from his Spanish herdsman ancestor (the vaquero), even though both men often did the same kind of work. In early times the names gauderio and gaucho were synonyms for *loafer* or *tramp* or *evil-doer* or *thief* or *bandit*. Later, doing a similar but more remarkable and more profitable work, he came to outnumber the vaquero and to attract far more attention through his extensive contraband activities; then the vaquero was forgotten. Still later, an esthetic element entered this most unesthetic picture, and the gaucho name was applied to those who “had no regular occupation and wandered about, supplied with a poor guitar and singing *coplas* . . . and also to those who excelled in the quarrels and in the rustic gallantry of the wilderness.”¹⁸ Magariños Cervantes describes the further development of this change.

In its origin, gaucho was the name applied to a certain class of individuals of bad habits and worse instincts. They came from the mixture of the Spanish, Indian, and African races. But today (*i.e.*, mid-nineteenth century) usage has generalized this word until it denotes the man who was born and who lives in the country and who—

¹⁷ Miguel Lastarria, “Reorganización y plan de seguridad exterior de las muy interesantes colonias orientales del Río Paraguay de la Plata (1805),” in Buenos Aires, Universidad nacional, Facultad de filosofía y letras, *Documentos*, III, 201-202.

¹⁸ Francisco Bauzá, *Historia de la dominación española en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 3 vols., 1895-1897), II, 193.

through his character, preoccupations, and customs—shares in the qualities which distinguish the savage from the civilized man.¹⁹

The gaucho was becoming the Spanish vaquero again. The circle was complete. Today it is the vaquero who rides the plains of the Plata lands; he keeps the gaucho name because of nationalistic, patriotic reasons. But the independent, vagrant, mestizo, cattle-hunting outlaw and soldier, for whom the gaucho name was necessarily created, has gone. Only the name remains.

In 1809, when Viceroy Cisneros passed the decree which transformed contraband into legitimate work,²⁰ he left without economic occupation many a gaucho who had been earning his dishonest living by affronting the dangers of contraband trading. However, as her hide was still the most important part of a cow, meat was still cheap. The slogan—"The pampa and cows for all"—still held. It was only when property rights were stressed, when land titles had been straightened out, when meat was being *sold*, that the gaucho position became truly difficult. An *hacendado* who might have meat preserved and sold to slave proprietors in Brazil, Africa, and the Antilles, would not look with favor on gauchos who camped upon his estate and ate his cows. The system of hunting cows, with no further obligation than that of turning the hides over to the proprietor of the estancia, was to be replaced by that of working a few months in the meat establishments and then buying with one's wages as much meat as he could—at the price fixed by consumers of other lands. The salting of meat was an enterprise of capitalists who had no thought of recognizing gauchos as their associates.²¹ But it was relatively late before this situation was the usual one.

With the lessening of his opportunities to satisfy his few wants by working for contraband trade, the gaucho had two recourses at his command. He could live by theft and the

¹⁹ Alejandro Magariños Cervantes, *Estudios históricos, políticos, y sociales sobre el Río de la Plata* (Paris, 1854), p. 311.

²⁰ See Juan Alvarez, *Estudio sobre las guerras civiles argentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1914), pp. 96, 97.

This decree made possible direct and open trade with England.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

general crime found, say, among the wild bands of the forests of Montiel; or he could occasionally do a bit of legitimate work. With the growth of law and order the true gaucho, the rebel against society, was finally vanquished, and he disappeared. The reformed gaucho, who hired himself out to do occasional and legitimate work, began the reversion to the old Spanish vaquero type. But this change was delayed by a series of wars which turned the attention of society from the business of hunting cattle to the business of hunting men. The confusion incident to these wars involved delay in the establishment and enforcement of law and order. Gaucho existence was prolonged beyond any justified economic expectancy. And more. Through their successful work in war, the gauchos even achieved social commendation.

The transformation of a social outcast into the hero of society which the gaucho became, is an interesting testimony to the power of advertising. Again it is a matter of shifting emphasis. Society turned its attention from economic to political matters and noted gaucho skill in riding a horse and gaucho daring. Gaucho cruelty as well became an asset. Transformed from successful smuggler to an ideally expert cavalryman, the gaucho had the good fortune to be primarily responsible for patriot success in the decisive battles which stopped the invasion of Royalist armies from viceregal Peru. While it is certain that there has been no adequate study of the gaucho rôle in the winning of Argentine independence—and in the winning of Spanish-American independence by keeping Royalists too uncomfortably busy in Tucumán to crush impertinent rebellion elsewhere—it is equally certain that the regeneration of the gaucho name was only incident to his success in the wars of Independence.

Besides the advertising value of his rôle in a successful war, the gaucho owed the regeneration of his name to the advertising he received in literature. Again it was a question of shifting emphasis. When the gaucho no longer was powerful enough to harm, society's attention shifted from his thievery, his cruelty and the like, to such characteristics as courage, independence, daring. Utilized as a literary theme in works of such notable success as José Hernández' *Martín*

Fierro and Rafael Obligado's *Santos Vega*, the gaucho became the symbol of independence and of a triumphant nationality; the symbol of the romance of a by-gone time, as well. But it is well to remember that such a concept became possible only long after the real gaucho had ceased to exist.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

The Hispanic Foundation,
The Library of Congress.

DOCUMENTS

A FRENCH DOCUMENT ON RIO DE JANEIRO, 1748

Separated by storms from the main body of the French Atlantic squadron commanded by the Marquis d'Albert, the fifty-gun man-of-war "Arc-en-ciel," in charge of Monsieur de Belleisle Pepu [*sic*], unexpectedly made its appearance in Rio de Janeiro on April 22, 1748. After provisioning itself, the vessel left the city on May 11. These facts, succinctly told, may serve to introduce the following manuscript, "Relache de L'Arc-en-ciel à Rio Janeiro 1748," an account of the observations and experiences of an unknown member of the ship's company.

Found by the editor in the Ajuda Palace Library of Lisbon (Call No. 52-X-2-19), the document in question is a valuable contribution to the history of eighteenth-century Rio. The anonymous author of the "Relache" gives the reader, at the outset, a remarkably complete picture of the military establishments of the city. Evidently the governor did not hesitate to allow his guests to visit the fortifications, possibly with the end in view of convincing the Frenchmen of the strength and invulnerability of the batteries. No one in Rio had forgotten the disastrous invasion of 1711, when Duguay Trouin took the city and imposed a heavy ransom on its inhabitants.

Not limiting himself to guns and canons, the author also describes the social and economic life of Rio and its hinterland. This part of his work is undoubtedly the most provocative of all. He has broached a number of vital problems with extreme candor. Needless to say, it is always refreshing to look at Portuguese America with other than Portuguese eyes; much that a native would overlook is often focused by a foreigner.

The writer's reflections were quite obviously not intended to be read by the Portuguese. How the document found its way to Lisbon is a mystery. The archives of Portugal not infrequently reward the scholar with such surprises.

Very little more can be said of the "Relache." The editor has been forced to reduce his annotations to the minimum, but the notes will probably be found adequate for an intelligent understanding of

the text. The original orthography and accentuation have been maintained throughout.

MANOEL DA SILVEIRA SOARES CARDOZO.

Lima Library
Washington, D. C.

Relache
de
L'Arc-en-ciel à Rio Janeiro
1748

L'Entrée de Rio Janeiro est formée par des Montagnes. Il y a entre autres à gauche, avant cette Entrée un Morne en forme de Pain de Sucre, qui est gros et fort élevé jusqu'au pied duquel on pourroit mouiller, si les Vents, ou quelque autre cause, empechoient de donner dans le Goulet.

Après avoir de passé le Morne d'une demie lieue, on se trouve dans un Goulet plus étroit que celui de Brest, défendu à main droite par un petit Fort de 8 Pièces de Canon, qui n'est séparé du Fort de Sainte Croix que par une petite Saignée, faite dans le Roc, où on a jetté un Pont de Communication. Le Fort Sainte Croix, le plus considerable du Pais est située sur un Avancement de Rocher vif, d'où les Vaisseaux qui entrent / et sortent, sont obligés de passer à moins d'une portée de Mousquet. La Fortification consiste en une epaisse Maçonnerie de 20 à 25 pieds de hauteur, revetuë de Pierres blanches, qui paroissent tendres.

Son artillerie consiste en 60 Pièces, des calibres de 24 et 18, en différentes positions, pour battre les dehors du Goulet, le Passage, et une partie de la Rade.

Les Canons de cette Batterie sont enfermés dans les Embrasures: Inconvenient palpable, qui ne laisse qu'une seule direction à la Piece pour tirer sur un Vaisseau à la Voile, qui n'est rien moins qu'un Objet fixe.

Cette Rade est peutetre la plus grande et la plus commode qu'il y ait au monde. Les Montagnes, qui l'environnent y mettent les Vaisseaux à l'abri de la plupart des Vents, et empechent que la Mer y soit jamais fort agitée; On peut mouiller dans toute son etendue, et par là elle contiendrait infiniment plus de Vaisseaux que celle de Brest: On peut y carener des Vaisseaux de tous rangs, en / divers lieux, principalement contre l'Isle des Chevres: où cette operation se fait avec facilitée pour les Vaisseaux de Guerre Portuguais, qui escortent la flotte du Brazil.¹

¹ A short time after the Portuguese revolution of 1640, trade to and from Brazil had been limited to annual fleets, convoyed by men-of-war.

Such a plan had been designed to reduce the dangers to Brazilian commerce

Le Batiment peut approcher si près, qu'un seul radeau en fait la jonction, et sert au transport des Matieres.

Cette Rade a encore des Isles et Islots, quiourniroient la meme commodité, et sur lesquels on peut etablir des Magasins et Ateliers bien sûrs pour la Conservation des Effets, s'il y avoit un Arsenal à Rio Janeiro.

De l'autre côté du Goulet, vis à vis le Fort Sainte Croix, il y a vingt Pieces de 18, en carbette, [sic] mais trop éloignées, ce semble, du passage des grands Vaisseaux pour les incommoder beaucoup.

Sur un Rocher, qui est plus bas dans l'interieur de la Rade, à environ une lieue de terre, on a construit un Fort quarré garni de 30 Canons de 24 et 18, dont le Feu peut non seulement croiser celui du Fort Sainte Croix, et de la Batterie opposée pour defendre / l'Entrée, mais encore, par ses differentes faces, battre les deux Passages, qu'il forme en cet endroit, et presqu'au mouillage devant la Ville.

À terre, avançant un peu vers la Ville, se trouve la Batterie de Nôtre Dame de la Gloire. Cette Batterie, qui consiste en dix Canons de petit Calibre, est peu de chose, ainsi qu'une autre qu'on avoit sur une presque Isle, qui forme avec l'Isle des Chevres une Ance [sic] devant Rio Janeiro.

L'Isle des Chevres, longue de deux portées de fusil sur une portée de pistolet ou un peu plus de largeur a été tellement fortifiée depuis la Conquête de Mons.r du Guai Trouin, qu'indépendamment du Fort à quatre Bastions, dont il parle, les Ouvrages qu'on y a ajoutés la couvrent entierement; mais il faudroit au moins deux mille hommes pour sa defense. /

La situation, à l'égard du Couvent des Benedictins, est comme Mons.r du Guai Trouin la donne, et le Plan inseré dans ses Memoires rend fort bien la position des trois Eminences, qui commandent la Ville, sçavoir, celle des Benedictins, celle de la Conception, occupée par le Palais Episcopal, et celle des Jesuites, qui est à l'autre bout de la Ville, du côté de l'Entrée de la Rade; mais il y en a une quatrieme, située par rapport aux Jesuites, à peu près comme celle de la Conception l'est à l'égard des Benedictins, c'est à dire sur les derrieres de la Ville.

growing out of the war with Spain and Holland. Until 1720, when the Commission was abolished and its assets, liabilities, and obligations were assumed by the Crown, the control over the Brazilian fleets was vested in a semi-official Commerce Commission (*Junta do Comércio*). *Vide* law of February 1, 1720, in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, February 22, 1720. The fleets were abolished in 1765. *Vide* law of September 10, 1765, in José Roberto Monteiro de Campos Coelho e Sousa, comp., *Systema, ou Collecção dos Regimentos Reaes* (2 vols., Lisboa, 1791), II, 121-123.

Derriere les Jesuites il y a quelques Pieces de Canon. L'Archeveché en a aussi. Mais soit negligence, soit securité, on a laissé tomber ces Batteries en si mauvais etat, qu'elles ne seroient guères redoutables dans une surprise, malgré l'avantage de commander la Ville; attendu qu'il faudroit plus de gens pour les rendre de service, qu'on n'emploie ordinairement dans un coup de main. /

A la position de ces Canons il semble, qu'il ne puissent servir, que contre la Ville, en cas qu'elle fût prise et pour la defense particuliere des Jesuites.

La hauteur qu'occupent les Benedictins n'a point de Batterie. Deux Pieces de Canons de 12 sans Affuts, qui sont dans l'escarpement vis à vis de l'Isle des Chevres, ne merite pas ce Nom. Il y a même un de ces Canons, qui a eu la Moitié de la bouche emporté lors de la Descente de Mons.r du Guai Trouin en 1711.

La Ville est sur un Terrain plat et presque quarré. La Façade sur la mer a environ trois cent Toises.² Elle est terminée par les Montagnes des Jesuites et des Benedictins. Sa profondeur repondroit assez au Quarré regulier, si elle n'étoit pas resserée dans les derrieres par les deux autres Montagnes dites de la Conception et de Saint Antoine: De sorte que Elle peut avoir au plus une demie lieue de Circuit. Les Ruës mal pavées son passablement bien percées et quelques unes la prolongent. / En general les Maisons sont mediocres et inegales: Presque toutes n'ont qu'une seule etage.

Un Canal de deux pieds et demi de largeur, revetû de Pierre de taille, et un retranchement de pierres liées avec du mortier gras et noir, sans solidité, sont les seules Fortifications que Rio Janeiro ait du côté de la Plaine. C'est ce Canal que les Memoires de du Guai appellent un bon Fossé.

L'Enceinte de la Ville n'est munie d'aucune Piece de Canon, si on en excepte les mauvaises Batteries des Emienences. La Defense ne peut être fondée que sur la Valeur de ses habitans.

Les Troupes réglées, qui servent dans la Place, et à la garde des Forts consistent en 8 ou 900 hommes d'infanterie, assez bien entretenûs: Parmi lesquels il y a environ cent Grenadiers de bonne mine, qui montent la garde chez le Gouverneur par detachement, avec un Capitaine et un Lieutenant ou un Enseigne, pris indistinctement de toutes les / Compagnies, qui, à leur Uniforme blanc et rouge, paroissent ne former qu'un même corps.

Cette Troupe est composée pour la plus grande partie d'Enfans du Païs, que l'on contraint à s'y enroller.

² About 1800 feet.

Les Environs de la Mer ont aussi leurs Detachemens Garde-côtes, mais en si petit nombre, qu'on y voit aisément la disette d'hommes.

Les Officiers de l'une et de l'autre Troupe sont Gens en general sans Naissance et sans Merite, créés par le Gouverneur suivant sa Fantaisie.

Lors de la Relache de l'Arc-en-ciel, un des Valets de Chambre de Don Fernand,³ sans quitter le Service de Son Maitre, portoit déjà l'Uniforme, et attendoit l'Agrément d'une Compagnie franche de Cavalerie.

Après ces Troupes, si l'on en excepte les Prêtres et les Moines, qui sont en tres grand nombre à Rio Janeiro, le Nombre des hommes libres et en état de fendre [*sic*] leur Patrie, monte à peine à deux mille. /

Celui des Noirs est prodigieux en comparaison. Le seul travail des Mines, appelées Mines Generales en employoit cent dix milles, suivant le Role de Capitation de l'Année 1748.⁴

Ces Mines dites Generales des grands travaux qui s'y faisoient autrefois, et de leur ancienne abondance, commencent à s'épuiser. On

³ The author of the "Relache" refers to Gomes Freire de Andrade, governor of Rio. Later on in the text, as the reader will note, the same author speaks of the governor as "Don Fernand Freire." Freire de Andrade had been governor of Rio since 1733. His commission of office, dated May 3, 1733, may be consulted in the Lisbon Colonial Archives, Codex 133, fo. 285. Freire de Andrade had also been governor of Minas Gerais since 1735. *Vide* the royal letter of January 4, 1735, cited in José João Teixeira Coelho, "Instrução para o Governo da Capitania de Minas Gerais (1780)," in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, XV (1852), 340. He died in office in 1763.

⁴ In lieu of the Fifths (*Quintos*) on gold, which had been collected in the past, a novel impost was decreed in Minas Gerais on July 1, 1735. Under the new plan, a capitation tax of two drams and twenty-seven grains of gold was levied twice yearly on all slaves, male and female (a few exemptions were allowed); on all emancipated Negroes and mulattoes of either sex who, though born in slavery, possessed no slaves; on all other free colored persons whose father or mother was black; on all persons of European birth or descent who personally engaged in mining; on all tradesmen, excluding master craftsmen, whose livelihood was made directly by their labor; and on all individuals exercising the liberal arts, such as painters, sculptors, fencers [*sic*], and surgeons. A semi-annual tax was also imposed on all commercial establishments, but the tribute naturally varied according to the extent of the business. *Vide* Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (7 vols., London, 1817-1819), III, 271; and "Practica q̃ se deve observar nesta Intendencia pa a cobrança da Capitação, a q̃ SMag.e foi servido reduzir os quintos, q̃ se lhe devem de todas as terras mineiras dos seus dominios," anonymous undated MS. in the Lisbon Colonial Archives, unclassified papers of Minas Gerais.

The capitation and shop tax was abolished by the law of December 3, 1750. It was not, however, until several months later that the provisions of the measure were finally carried out in Minas Gerais. The law of 1750 may be consulted in the Lisbon Colonial Archives, Codex 311, fos. 54-59.

en a ouvert beaucoup d'autres jusqu'à près de quatre cent lieues dans le Païs, et qui rendent d'avantage que les premieres.⁵

Tout habitant, qui fait travailler aux Mines est obligé de payer environ cent francs pour chaque Esclave, qu'il y emploie, independamment de ce qui est dû au Roi sur le Produit, et les Frais de Matieres, Outils, Subsistence des Travailleurs &c.

Les nouvelles Mines ouvertes jusqu'à près de quatre cent lieues dans le Païs, et qui rendent d'avantage que les Mines Generales, doivent encore occuper un grand nombre de ces Esclaves, dont Rio Janeiro fourmillent, malgré cette diversion. Leur multitude dans le Brazil feroit craindre un Soulevement, funeste aux Portugais. Mais ils se sont mis à l'abri / de cet Inconvenient, par la precaution d'avoir des Noirs de lieues differens, et de se servir de l'opposition de leurs Caracteres pour les contenir. Ils les tirent de la Côte vulgairement appelée la Guinée, et du Royaume d'Angola, qui en est separé. Les Premiers sont, au jugement des Portugais, deliés, fourbes, paroisseux : Les derniers, d'Esprit lourd, mais laborieux, de bonne foi &c, haïssant les autres autant, qu'ils en sont haïs : De maniere que ces deux especes étant melés par tout, et ne se conciliant jamais, l'une ne peut rien entreprendre, que l'autre ne la decèle [*sic*] aussitôt : Et la sureté publique est fondée sur cette antipathie.

On voit encore à Rio Janeiro une grande quantité de Mulatres. Le sang s'y mêle tous les jours de plus en plus, par la libertinage auquel le Climat et l'Oisivité rendent les habitans enclins.

Ce mepris de l'Industrie, et la haine du Travail repandûs dans le Païs, aussi bien que la recherche de l'or et des diamans, qui occupe tant d'hommes, fait negliger la culture des Terres ; qui ne rapportent ni Indigo, ni Cacao. Presque tout le / Commerce, qui se fait au Brasil est du côté de l'Europe.

Il consiste pour la vie en une mediocre quantité de farine, de vin de Porto, et d'epiceries, dont la frugalité Portugaise se contente. La branche, qui a le Faste pour objet, est infiniment plus considerable : Ce sont des Etoffes d'or et d'argent, des Galons, des soyeries, des beaux Draps, des Toiles fines, et d'autres Marchandises de gout, tirées pour la plus grande partie des Manufactures de France, dont Lisbonne fait l'envoi une fois l'an, vérs le mois de Septembre ou d'Octobre, par une Flotte, escortées ordinairement de 3 ou 4 Vaisseaux de guerre, qui se repandent avec les Batimens Marchands à la Baïe de tous les Saints, a Pernambuco [*sic*], à Rio Janeiro ; après quoi ces Vaisseaux et la

⁵ The author refers to the mines of Goiaz and Mato Grosso.

Flotte chargés de l'or et de quelques Diamands, provenant des Droits du Roi et de Ceux que les Particuliers font passer pour leur compte dans le Portugal, se rejoignant à la Baïe de tous les Saints en Decembre ou Janvier, pour retourner en Europe; et n'emportent du Païs, avec leurs Matieres pretieuses, que du Sucre, du Tabac, et du Coton, qu'il semble produire malgré ses maitres. /

Ce Faste ruineux et frivole prend sa source dans une Vanité demesurée. L'Oisiveté combinée avec l'influence d'un Climat brulant semblent celles de leur libertinage et de l'amour desordonné qu'ils ont pour les Femmes. Rien enfin ne rappelle en eux ces fameux Portugais du Quatorzieme Siecle, [sic] qui à travers mille dangers, se sont fixé le route d'un nouveau Monde et ont donné au reste de l'Europe le premier exemple d'y faire des Conquêtes.

Des Brasiiliens Naturels.

Les Brasiiliens sont fort rouge. Ils ont les Traits petits; les Cheveux noirs, longs, et plats; et la Taille mediocre. Ils preferent la Vie sauvage à une Vie policée, et se tiennent presque tous dans les Bois, pour eviter un joug, qui leur paroît trop pesant. Le peu, qu'on en voit à Rio Janeiro a été converti par les Jesuites. Ces Peres en ont un bien plus grand nombre dans leur Maisons de la Côte; et ils les catechisent avec assez de succès. /

Portrait

De Don Fernand Freire Capitaine General de Rio
Janeiro et des Mines en 1748.⁶

Quoique Don Fernand Freire commençat [sic] à se ressentir des Approches de la Viellesse et qu'il déjà essuyé plusieurs attaques de Goutes; il étoit encore d'une assez belle representation. Le Maintien grave, l'Air de hauteur, l'Acception indifferente et dedaigneuse de tous les honneurs, et de tous les Empressements composant l'exterieur des Gouverneurs Portugais; qui se regardent comme de petits souverains. Mais Don Fernand, déposant la Morgue et l'Etiquette de la Dignité, scût prendre avec le Capitaine et les Officiers de l'Arc-en-ciel les manieres françoises et les Tons les plus polis. Il avoit servi en Flandre, sous le General Albemarle dans la Guerre de la Succession. Il aimoit à parler de la France, et en parloit bien. Il avoit l'idée generale des Interets des Princes. Son Esprit étoit orné; Sa conversation interessante. Il entendoit notre Langue et s'en servoit avec facilité. /

⁶ *Vide supra*, note 3.

Note

Sur la Relache du Vaisseau l'Arc-en-ciel
à Rio Janeiro.

L'Arc-en-ciel de 50 Canons étoit commandé par Mons.^r de Belleisle Pepu, Lieutenant de Vaisseau avec Commission de Capitaine.

Il faisoit partie de l'Escadre de Monsieur le Marquis d'Albert; et il en avoit été separé par les mauvais tems.

Ces Vaisseau partit de Brest le 24.^e Janvier; eut connoissance des Montagnes du Brasil le 15.^e d'Avril et mouilla le 22.^e du même mois à l'Entrée de la Baïe de Rio Janeiro le 90.^e jour de sa Traversée depuis le depart de France. Le Capitaine de l'Arc-en-ciel envoya sur le champ un officier pour informer le Gouverneur de la Relache du Vaisseaux, des Motif, qui l'occasionnoient, et pour traiter du Salut avant d'entrer en Rade. /

L'Entrée de cette Rade est fermée par un Goulet plus etroit que celui de Brest. À droit est le Fort de Sainte Croix, le Principal du Païs. C'est ce Fort, qui reçoit le Salut, que tous les Vaisseaux doivent aux Forteresses des Rois, et il le rend. Le Nombre de coups varie suivant la Nation, la qualité du Capitaine, et celle du Vaisseau, qui doit saluer en passant, et non à l'ancre, suivant nôtre usage. Le Fort tireroit sur tout Batiment qui manqueroit à cette formalité.

Il est remarquable que le Salut aït été rendu coup pour coup à l'Arc-en-ciel, Vaisseau portant un simple flamme. L'Ordonnance de 1689, Livre 3, Titre et Article 1.^r n'exige le coup pour coup des Forteresses des Rois, qu'en faveur du Pavillon Amiral, ou de Vice-Amiral, ne pretendant pour les autres, qu'un nombre de coups proportionné à leur Marque distinctive de dignité.

Don Fernand Freire, Capitaine General / de Rio Janeiro, et des Mines, Gouvernement particulier reuni au Premier en sa faveur, repondit à l'exposition des Besoins du Vaisseaux françois, par les Assurances les plus polies, et des Promesses positives de secours de toutes especes. Il remplit ses Engagemens à tous egards, et pendant dix-sept jours de Relache, sa Conduite ne se dementit jamais. Elle soutint, sans en être ebranlée, l'épreuve critique d'une Apparition pretendue de trois Vaisseaux de guerre de l'Escadre du Contre-Amiral Boscawen, qui avoit mis à la voile vèrs le Mois de Decembre 1747 pour assieger Pondicheri. Ces Batimens vûs de plus près se trouverent être des Marchands de la Flotte de Brasil: Mais cette alarme, malgré l'Ascendant des Anglois sur les Portuguais, n'ayant alteré en rien les dispositions favorables du Capitaine General, servit à inspirer beaucoup de Confiance à Mons.^r de Belleisle, qui se separa de Don Fernand

tres satisfait de ses manieres, après avoir vecû avec lui dans l'Union la plus parfaite.

Aucune aventure ne trouble la Relache de l'Arc-en-ciel dans une Colonie etrangere, qui, trente huit ans auparavant, avoit été le Theatre de cette Guerre Sanglante, que Du Guai Trouin y a fait avec tant de succès, vis à vis d'une Nation encore remplie des horreurs de cette devastation recente.

L'accord heureux entre les Chefs, la Conduite pacifique entre les Subalternes, sont des Avantages importans et de la plus grande delicatesse. Ils fûrent dûs sans doute en cette occasion au caractere aimable et à l'humeur liante de l'officier Commandant, qui donna l'exemple de plaire, premier Talent pour applanir les Voies de la Conciliation.

Les Depences de la Relache ne fûrent point payées de l'Argent du Roi de Portugal. Il falloit en acheter à 10 pour cent, d'un Particulier à qui on donnat une Lître de change sur / Mons.^r du Verne, Consul à Lisbonne. Ce Portuguai vouloit que l'on tira sur l'Ambassadeur de France auprès de Sa Majesté tres Fidelle. Ce ne fût pas sans peine, qu'il se desista de sa pretension.

L'Arc-en-ciel appareilla le 10.^e May de la Rade de Rio Janeiro. Il fût retenû par le Calme en dehors du Goulet jusqu'à 11.^e, qu'il mît à la Voile avec un Vent de N. E. faisant route au S. E. pour aller chercher le Cap de Bonne Esperance.

Denomination des Especies du Païs

<i>Especies.</i>	<i>Valeur en Livres.</i>	<i>Valeur en Reis.</i>
Doublon.....	80ll.....	12,000
Demi-doublon.....	40.....	6,400
Quart de Doublon.....	20.....	3,200
Double Pataque.....	4.....	640
Pataque.....	2.....	320
Demi-Pataque.....	1.....	160
Quart de Pataque.....	10.sous.....	80
Vingtain.....	2. 6.d. enier.....	20
Demi-vingtain.....	1. 3.	10 ⁷

N.B. Le Reis est ideal, et vaut un denier et demi du Païs; mais il n'y a pas d'espece effective au dessous d'un demi Vingtain.

Les Portuguais estiment si peu l'Or et l'Argent etranger, que ces deux Metaux, au Coin de France ne passent qu'à un sixieme de perte,

⁷ There were twenty *sous* (the author has also used the word *sois*) in each *livre* and twelve *deniers* in each *sous* *tournois*.

et les Piastres Mexicaines, ou d'Espagne, même aux deux Colonnies, à un Septieme.

Remarques sur les Vivres

Le gros Betail est assez commun à Rio Janeiro par le soin qu'on pri les Peres Jesuites, non seulement de le conserver mais encore de le multiplier, en faisant prendre dans les Bois les jeuns Taureaux et Genisses sauvage [*sic*], pour en former des Troupeaux, de sorte que faisant couper une certaine quantité des Premiers, et tenant le tout dans de bons Palis, qui environnent les Maisons qu'ils ont fait Cotir [*sic*] le long des Côtes du Brazil, ils en fournissent le Païs. / Cependant ce Betail pour être acqui et entretenû à si peu de frais, n'est pas à fort bon marché. Car un Boeuf s'y vend 25 Ecus du Païs, ou 30 Ecus de France, et en detail 4 Sols la Livre.⁸ (La Livre au Brasil n'est que de 14 Onces, et pour les Quantités, on y compte par Arrobes: L'Arroube pese 32 livres du Païs.) Il est beaucoup inferieur à celui de la Province de Bretagne, quoique élevé dans les lieux abondans en Foin et en Arbres Bananiers, dont ils aiment les Troncs et les Feuilles.

Le Mouton ne vaut rien: La Chair en est seche, parce qu'il n'est jamais coupé, et il est d'un coup si insipide, que sans en faire aucune difference d'avec les Brebis, on les vend ensemble, et au même prix.

Ils fûrent vendûs 14.¹¹ 8.^a p.^{cc}—Monnoïe de France.⁹ /

Il y a du Porc en assez grande abondance dans le Païs; et il n'y est pas plus cher qu'en Bretagne. Mais comme cet Animal mange beaucoup de Poisson, il en a lui même le gout, d'une façon si surprennante, qu'il ne le perd que par un long usage d'autres Alimens.

La Poule est chere, mais belle et excellente. On la compare pour sa grandeur, et pour sa bonté à la Poule de Caux: Elle coute 3.¹¹ Les Dindons et les Canards, quoique moins beaux dans leur espece, sont neanmoins bons. On paye les Premiers 6.¹¹ et les Derniers 3.¹¹ Ces Prix sont Argent de France par evaluation.

D'ailleurs on trouve une quantité prodigieuse de Fruits, comme Oranges, Citrons de differentes Especes, Figues-Bananes, Bananes simples, Ananas, / Patates, Melons d'eau, Pistaches, &c. des Salades, et en Legumes des Choux, des Poireaux, des Giraumons, et Citrouilles, propres à raffraichir les Equipages.

⁸ The Portuguese *Escudo* was the equivalent of 1,600 *réis*. Vide Roberto C. Simonsen, *Historia economica do Brasil 1500-1820* (2 vols., São Paulo, 1937), I, 112.

⁹ "14 livres 8 sous pièce."

Le Poisson abonde de telle sorte, que tout le Monde en fait secher pour sa Provision, et la Nourriture de ses Esclaves, outre la Quantité qu'on abandonne aux Pourceaux.

Le Climat est beau, parfaitement sain, mais d'une chaleur excessive, et dont les Suites servient à craindre, si elles n'étoient tempérées par deux Brises, qui viennent régulièrement le matin et le soir, y rafraichir l'air et la Terre. Celle du Matin vient du N.O : Celle du Soir du S. Est.

BOOK REVIEWS

Historia de la Nación Mexicana. By MARIANO CUEVAS, S. J. (Mexico: Talleres Tipográficos Modelo, S. A., 1940. Pp. 1027. \$6.00.)

In this bulky volume (1027 double-column pages) the 550 illustrations form a conspicuous part and possibly the best feature. There are portraits of notables, scenes of events and objects, caricatures, illustrations of architecture, art, and archaeology, maps and facsimiles.

The author discusses as length the antiquity of man in Mexico. He gives some credit to the advancement of the Pre-Cortesian civilizations, but he thinks they were declining rapidly; and he denounces those who declare that the coming of the Spaniards was harmful to the Indians. Such a statement, he says, can be understood only if it comes from the pens of foreigners. The aborigines should be made to see the Spanish Conquest "as a liberation from the harsh and growing tyranny of the Aztecs." The practice of human sacrifice not only justified the Conquest but made it obligatory.

Columbus and Cortés are defended, and Cortés is described as the father of the social institutions of Mexico. Specialized topics, such as architecture, fine arts, social life, industry, printing, national sports, and notable travellers, are treated in separate chapters.

The failure of the seventeenth century to keep up with the great activities of the sixteenth was due, says the author, to the lack of ability of the kings and courtiers of Spain. The officials serving under the viceroy were described as being of a particularly low type. The defense of the seventeenth century may be found in the quotation: "Felices los pueblos que no tienen historia."

Foreign influences are given considerable space, chiefly to be condemned. England was a constant enemy—when at war, carrying the English flag—when at peace, the black flag of the pirate. Piracy becomes "Protestant piracy" and primarily the work of "perfidious Albion." The Bourbons and the French come in for their share of the criticisms, particularly for opening the gates to the detested Masons. The misfortunes of Mexico and the troubles of the Church are made to appear to come primarily from the Masonic lodges. The Church is given credit for having supported the independence movement of Mexico, but not that part of the movement which was promoted by the liberals and Masons, rather for its support of Agustín

Iturbide who saved Mexico from the 1820 revolution of the liberals in Spain. The failure of Iturbide was attributed less to his own incapacity and errors than to venomous outside influences.

The Monroe Doctrine is attributed entirely to "Cumings" (Canning), and it is considered only as a restraining chain on the independence of Latin America. Joel R. Poinsett is discussed at length, primarily to denounce him as the agent of the Masonic lodge of Philadelphia; and James Gadsden is called the "Poinsett" of his day. Lucas Alamán, "without doubt" the greatest politician of Mexican history, sought only to save Mexico from the federalist plan of the Philadelphia Masons. In the War of the Reform as well as in the Maximilian episode the reader is to be impressed by the evil influence of the United States.

It is natural that the Church history should be foremost in this volume, the Church being, as the author says, more important than the king, the viceroy, and the law. Furthermore, Cuevas is the author of a five-volume history of the Church in Mexico, a fact which he does not allow his readers to forget. While the Church and foreign influences have been emphasized, one to be defended, the other to be condemned, there is also considerable space devoted to brief and colorful biographical sketches of prominent personalities. These, too, are treated with obvious partisanship. The author frequently justifies or defends his views by quoting from someone who agrees with him. He deals with controversial topics but draws his conclusions with finality. This volume is full of interesting information and opinions, but is not written with the historical objectivity which one should expect of historical scholarship in the twentieth century.

Since this book is intended for the general reader, it does not contain footnote references nor a bibliography, although references and quotations are occasionally given in the body. A classified table of contents is used instead of the index which is fundamental in a work like this.

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Modern Mexican Painters. By MACKINLEY HELM. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. Pp. 205, 82 illustrations. \$5.00.)

For the general reader this is an excellent introduction to the art of modern Mexico. It is an interesting and readable account of the author's many conversations with almost every one of the artists active in Mexico during the last thirty years. The style has an easy

tempo and spontaneity which gives the reader the impression that the conversation is actually taking place in his own presence.

In view of the fact that my own history of modern Mexican art* was published only two years ago, perhaps I am not the one to review this book with the objectivity it deserves. But I thoroughly enjoyed reading it and from my own experience appreciate the tremendous amount of patience and effort required to coax artists into a discussion of their own ideas and artistic achievements. This Dr. Helm has done extremely well. In general the historical facts and basic information are those already clarified through my research. For the future historian of what we now call modern art I should like to emphasize a number of additional features in Dr. Helm's account which are of particular significance. One is the incredible story of Dr. Atl, whom I too had described as the dynamic initiator if not the creator of the entire modern movement in Mexico. This story Dr. Helm has justly elaborated into a full chapter so as to include not only a more complete picture of that remarkable personality, but an illuminating cross-section of the official style of the Díaz regime.

Secondly, the book contains a full description of Orozco's recently completed frescos in Guadalajara which at the time of the publication of my book were still in process of execution and consequently could only be given the briefest treatment. It is a pity that more reproductions of them (in color!) could not have been included, for they are without doubt the greatest single achievement that modern art has produced—anywhere.

A third contribution is the extensive and intimate picture of the many younger schools and painters that have sprung up in Mexico during the last ten years. The presentation of these lesser known personalities, rather than the older mural painters, seems to have been the major purpose of the author as clearly stated in his preface, even though considerable space is given to the well-known Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros.

On this last and most important feature Dr. Helm's study forms a useful complement to my book, for I had expressly emphasized the great murals of the earlier period. It is also the point upon which I perhaps would take issue with the author on the larger question of critical judgment. For if it were possible to juxtapose the total achievement of the older group—Atl, Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros—and that of the younger artists active in the last decade and a half, the resulting comparison, I am afraid, would only dramatize the

* Laurence E. Schmeckebier, *Modern Mexican Art*, Minneapolis, 1939.

pitiable confusion and spiritually disorganized state of present artistic developments.

This is no fault of the artists, for most of them are far better equipped in natural talent and artistic training than were the older men at the time the great mural movement began. But there is something decidedly lacking in their work which one becomes more and more conscious of as he reads the book. Dr. Helm's major emphasis was on the individuals, yet these, as individuals, did not create the Mexican "style"—by which is meant obviously not merely subject matter but the essential artistic form and spirit.

No, the Mexican style was created by far deeper, more compelling forces. It was the product of an epoch-making movement in which the individual artists served merely as the expression of a dynamic social organism. That is why the petty utterances of the artists, as the author so often points out, are of little importance even though they may be very interesting as items of human interest. The murals themselves reflect those forces: the honest desire of a race and people for national well-being; the cry of the millions for social freedom, equality and justice; the sacred right of the human spirit to a place of dignity in a sordid world of mechanical ruthlessness, exploitation and destruction.

It was not the author's intention to go into these problems—the title of the book refers to Mexican *painters*, not *art*. Yet, as the characters and material are spread out before us in this way, we somehow feel that he should have done so. On the other hand, that limitation may be one of its greatest merits in that the reader is almost forced to stop for a moment and think for himself.

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Historia de Dom Pedro II, 1825-1891. Vol. II, *Fastigio, 1870-1880*; Vol. III, *Declínio, 1880-1891*. By HEITOR LYRA. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, Serie V, "Brasiliana," Vols. 133-A and 133-B.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939, 1940. Vol. II, pp. xxiv, 531; Vol. III, pp. xxiii, 336. Illus.)

These two volumes complete Dr. Heitor Lyra's comprehensive life of Dom Pedro II, of which the first part appeared in 1938 (reviewed in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* for August, 1939). In these, as in the first volume, footnote documentation is indefinite, and at times lacking, and the material is not always well organized or well balanced. There is disproportionate biographical stress upon many

contemporary politicians, which tends to obscure the picture of the Emperor himself. But the volumes have many compensating features, the most outstanding being the facts that they are based upon extensive research in European and Brazilian archives as well as in printed materials and are written in a non-partisan spirit, though with sympathetic admiration for the Emperor Dom Pedro II.

Volume II, covering the period from the close of the war with Paraguay through the struggle for direct elections, contains eleven chapters, including a description of "A Vida na Corte" (Chapter 2) and of "Os Paços e a Família Imperial" (Chapter 3). The latter includes some of the best writing in the book and gives pleasing pictures of the imperial family at home in Rio de Janeiro and as friendly neighbors in Petropolis, where they spent the hot season of the year.

The author, like most students of the subject, thinks that the Emperor handled the question of the bishops unwisely—that by an early understanding with Rome he might have preserved the dignity of the civil power while avoiding the crisis which ended in the imprisonment of the prelates and helped undermine the Empire.

In spite of his digressions, the writer perhaps makes his best contribution through discussion of Brazilian politics and characterization of political leaders. His brief treatment of the presidents of the provinces (pp. 34-36) is illuminating, and one could wish that he had devoted more space to the rôles played by these creatures of imperial cabinets. Provincial headships were in some cases training schools for political offices in Rio de Janeiro; in others, they furnished practically life careers in themselves. Herculano Ferreira Pena, who seems to have established a record, successively administered eight provinces. Heitor Lyra's historical outline of political factionalism in Brazil contains little that is new; but his discussion of the parts played by the "ins" and the "outs" is unusually clear. He shows that very few politicians failed to practice, with more or less "elegancia moral" (p. 528), a two-faced, contradictory attitude towards Dom Pedro's exercise of the *poder moderador*.

Volume III, composed of ten chapters, begins with "Emancipação dos Escravos—Lei 13 de Maio" and ends with "Exílio e Morte." In discussing the Princess Imperial Isabel, the author seems to make too much of the fact that she was a woman. While attributing her zeal for emancipation of the slaves partly to her "sensibilidade feminina," he apparently forgets that most of the ardent and impatient abolitionists were men. Similarly, he over-emphasizes the idea that Isabel was opposed as her father's successor on the ground of her womanhood, and does not stress sufficiently the fact that her French husband was

from the first given a place in Brazilian public affairs—a serious mistake—which caused the Brazilians to fear the influence he might exert when she succeeded her father. If, when the marriage contract was made, it had been definitely stipulated that the Comte d'Eu's activities in Brazil should be exclusively private, there would probably have been little or no jealousy of him as a foreigner. Dom Pedro II's empress, the Neapolitan princess Thereza Christina, who kept entirely aloof from politics and devoted most of her leisure to works of charity, became the most beloved woman in the Empire and, long before the abdication, was affectionately known as "The Mother of the Brazilians." Carlota Joaquina, the Spanish wife of King João VI, on the other hand, made herself a pest and a by-word in Brazil, through her meddling in politics and her general rudeness. After all, the Princess Imperial's great-grandfather and grandfather, despite their masculinity, were so unpopular as to lose their Brazilian thrones.

Unsparring of criticism regarding his own nation, Dr. Heitor Lyra attributes the movement against the Empire to the fact that the Brazilian is a "natural rebel," who does not like discipline, does not know how to obey. He is a combination of two rebel races, the Indian and the Latin, and is ready to explode at the first pressure of elements contrary to his will—following the bad refractory example first set by the *políticos* (pp. 132-133).

The author does not believe that the Paraguayan war had much influence on the indiscipline of the Brazilian army, whereas this reviewer thinks that the sojourn in the Plata did considerable towards creating military insubordination, which, however, developed gradually. But she agrees with the author in regarding Ouro Preto's recall of General Deodoro Fonseca from the frontier and the bringing of him to Rio as an unpardonable error, a view commonly held by historians.

Each of the two volumes contains an analytical table of contents, chronologies for the periods covered, and many illustrations, mostly portraits. At the end of the third volume are an unanalytical index based on proper names, a long bibliography, a list of archives consulted, and a table of errata for the first two volumes.

All in all, Dr. Heitor Lyra's *Historia de Dom Pedro II* is unquestionably the best as well as the most complete biography of that emperor written in the Portuguese language by any single person.

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The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891.

By RAYFORD W. LOGAN. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. 516. Bibliography. Index. \$5.00.)

Professor Logan is well acquainted with Haiti, its leading men, and its contemporary affairs. His previous writings on that country include articles critical of the American intervention and a notable study of Haitian education which explored historical as well as modern aspects of that subject.

In the present work the author has entered a different realm, undertaking a close study of Haitian-American diplomatic relations from the American Revolution through the affair of Mole Saint Nicolas, which occurred exactly fifty years ago. Such a study requires consideration of coincident relations of both countries with France, Great Britain, Spain, and the Dominican Republic. It is an ambitious project, and one never previously undertaken, the two other recent works bearing on the subject being somewhat different in character. The first of them transfers its focus to the Dominican Republic after 1844, while the second is a survey of general relations over a longer period within a shorter space. Professor Logan has accomplished his purpose with marked success, and so doing has made a contribution to American diplomatic history which will establish his reputation as a scholar in that field.

The work is based on manuscript materials from the archives of France, Great Britain, and Haiti, as well as those of the United States. The French documents relate almost exclusively to the period from 1775 to 1815, the British to 1843-1860, and the Haitian to 1883-1891. While they do not alter the substance of previous interpretations, they supply confirmation and interesting detail. In dealing with controversial issues, the author's practice is to state in full previous evidence and interpretations, to introduce such new evidence as he may have, and finally to present his own conclusions. The result of painstaking research and careful exposition is the most authoritative, complete, and extensive presentation of the diplomatic aspects of American relations with Haiti within the period specified.

The limitations of the work are explicit in the title. It is exclusively diplomatic in scope, and its terminal dates are necessarily arbitrary. It thus shares the characteristics of a well-defined branch of historiography, some general consideration of which may be pertinent. A question arises as to how much background may be taken for granted, even in works addressed to advanced scholars. While all are aware that diplomacy does not occur in a vacuum, there is a tendency

to suppose that meaningful history can be written with strict limitation to the acts of diplomats as recorded in their archives. Proportion and emphasis are apt to be determined by the number of documents uncovered, and there is a related tendency to report the minutiae of negotiation, which, sometimes essential to understanding, as often obscure the issue. "Close studies" of this nature become less a history of international relations than a report on the contents of archives, with transcripts of evidence discovered. They have their scholarly uses, but, however multi-archival, they are apt to be two-dimensional.

These criticisms are of general application, and it must be repeated at once that Professor Logan's work is an excellent example of an accepted type of scholarship. His presentation of general background may be more severely limited than the knowledge of Haitian history or the consideration of American domestic factors, in their related aspects, may warrant, but his study of the problems of diplomatic research has been close and the exposition of his findings thorough.

Professor Logan has been a partisan in the controversy over American intervention in Haiti, but he has conducted his investigation of delicate issues in earlier relations with commendable detachment and balanced judgment. It is to be hoped that he will continue a good work well begun by publishing, in due time, a companion volume carrying his study from 1891 to 1941, combining therein native insight with proved scholarship.

LUDWELL LEE MONTAGUE

Washington, D. C.

The American Empire: A Study of the Outlying Territories of the United States. Ed. by WILLIAM H. HAAS. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1940. Pp. 398. \$4.00.)

This is a very good book, which ought to be read by every thoughtful American, interested in the welfare of this country. It deals with the territories under the American flag beyond the contiguous continental area of the United States, as follows: Puerto Rico (67 pages); the Virgin Islands (31 pages); the Canal Zone (28 pages); Alaska (65 pages); Hawaii and lesser islands of the Pacific (90 pages); and the Philippines (65 pages). The individual stories of these different areas are bound together and brilliantly interpreted as a whole in a first chapter (by the distinguished historian and Hispanic Americanist, Isaac Joslyn Cox) entitled "The era of overseas expansion" and a last chapter (by Cox and the editor, an eminent geologist and geographer, professor emeritus of Northwestern University) called "'Manifest

Destiny' in greater America.'" The hand of the editor is apparent throughout the volume, which has been unified in content and even in its pleasing written style.

In brief, here are some of the conclusions the editor and his colleagues appear to have drawn. An almost inevitable and vast United States expansion has taken place, over and above that which previously occurred on the mainland, but of a very different type from that of European countries or from that now contemplated by the totalitarian states of the other hemisphere. Much more might have been taken if the people of the United States had been aggressively and politically imperialistic. United States intervention and annexation have stopped far short of United States investment, however, and there has been an American attitude of fair play that has caused us to withdraw from temporarily occupied regions in a way that has few if any parallels in Eastern Hemisphere experience. The regions acquired have, in the main, benefited from social and economic contacts with the United States, but they have often complained of what they regard as American injustices in governing them. To some extent their objections are justified, principally on two counts: American ignorance of them and their problems, leading to unwise measures in many cases; and the insistent self-interest of business concerns in the United States, which do not want to be hindered or handicapped by competition with one or another of the territorial regions. Thus there are furious anti-United States movements occasionally in Puerto Rico, and the Philippine president, Manuel Quezón, can announce that he would prefer "a government run like hell by the Filipinos to a government run like heaven by the Americans." Unless something intervenes between now and 1946 (when complete independence of the Philippines is scheduled to take place), it would seem that the Filipinos will soon have their opportunity for such a government! Anti-United States comments of the kinds recited in the various overseas territories remind one that there are perhaps some people *in the United States* who object to the Franklin Roosevelt government. In other words, the millennium has not arrived anywhere in the world, with the American or any other flag. The imminence of the totalitarian peril is never out of the minds of Dr. Haas and his staff, who emphasize the strategic features of these possessions, some of them contributing very greatly to hemispheric defense, while others, notably the Philippines and to a less extent Alaska, are a factor of weakness.

While scholarship and research are plainly in the background of this work, there is hardly anything in the way of visible paraphernalia. There are no citations to authorities, not even a list of works used.

There is, however, a useful index. Many illustrations are scattered through the volume. In fine, it is a product of scholarship, not a technical manifestation thereof, intended for a thoughtful general public which it deserves to have.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California.

Elisa Lynch de Quatrefages. By HÉCTOR F. DECOUD. (Buenos Aires: Librería Cervantes, 1939. Pp. 323. \$5.00 m/n.)

Since gaining its independence the gallant little republic of Paraguay has been involved in two serious wars. Both of these conflicts have left marks deeply inscribed on the country.

The story of the Paraguayan War, 1865-1870, and of the dictator Francisco Solano López, has a very large literature. At the same time, few if any dictators have had so much contradictory material written about them as has López the younger. Controversy has also raged about his "Madame de Pompadour," Elisa Lynch de Quatrefages, the "Woman on Horseback." The history of Paraguay in the 1860's is the personal story of López and Madame Lynch.

The Decoud family was also prominent in the politics of Paraguay at that time. Carlos Decoud was accused of treason and shot because the eyes of the younger López, not yet dictator, fell upon the beautiful figure of a Paraguayan girl who happened to have been the fiancée of Decoud. Another member of the Decoud family fled Paraguay, while still another lived in Buenos Aires, perhaps accused of treason as was his kinsman. It is a member of this branch of the family who has given us this account of *Elisa Lynch de Quatrefages*. He has written several other works (as has the better known José S. Decoud) treating of the period of the Paraguayan war. His last three volumes have been offered to the public by his wife since the death of the author.

Strictly speaking, *Elisa Lynch de Quatrefages* is not a biography, and does not approach either the biography by Héctor Varela, or W. E. Barret's *Woman on Horseback*. In fact, the author tells us in his preface that he had always desisted from writing the story of Madame Lynch as a woman whose youth had been spent in libertinage, whose maturity had been spent in the virtuous blood of her innocent victims, and her old age in the dung hills of vice. But he was constrained to expose the true Madame Lynch who was "*mujerzuela*" first, legal wife later, and who as mistress of Paraguay stole relentlessly and robbed the country. This is the story of a woman who was

beautiful and perverse, domineering, vicious and cruel, as well as an artist of seduction.

Decoud met Madame Lynch in Buenos Aires and spoke with her. In addition to personal knowledge, he quotes from documents and writers when favorable to his point of view, but often without direct reference. At times it is quite difficult to tell whether he is quoting or paraphrasing other writers or expressing his own emotions. He quotes from his own previous works, and from Thompson, Washburn, Báez, Rebaudi, and others.

In lengthy fashion he refutes Madame Lynch's thesis in her "Exposición y Protesta" and Cordero's attempt to regain the lands granted to her son. Decoud proves to his own satisfaction that Madame Lynch had no title to the land and that under his father's constitution, López had no right to cede lands.

He attempts to prove that López was absolutely and entirely dominated by Madame Lynch, that she robbed the treasury of Paraguay, and bought lands illegally; that she despoiled the people of their jewels and valuables and kept them for herself. He further shows that during the war, while the people of Paraguay were starving, Madame Lynch dressed and lived luxuriously and paraded her stolen jewels.

Obviously this narrative is not favorable to Madame Lynch. On the contrary, it is a rambling, repetitious, and poorly organized tirade against her. Decoud wrote the book in an effort to keep Madame Lynch from becoming a national heroine in Paraguay. He makes but little reference to his own family, but piles quotation upon hostile quotation in order to defame the heartless mistress of Paraguay. Not only does Decoud fail to cite specifically the sources of many extensive quotations, but often dispenses with discrimination and evaluation of sources. The book lacks both index and bibliography, but does have a partial analytical table of contents.

A. P. NASATIR.

San Diego State Teachers College.

Sarmiento: A Chronicle of Inter-American Friendship. By MADALINE NICHOLS. (Washington, D. C.: Privately printed,* 1940. Pp. 81. \$1.00.)

Those conversant with the biographical literature of Hispanic America have doubtless noted a heightened interest during the past few decades in the career and achievements of the "School-Master President" of Argentina, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Especially

* Send orders to 303 B Street, Southeast, Washington, D. C.

since 1938, the semi-centennial of the death of Sarmiento, there has been a great outpouring of books and articles on this remarkable statesman and educator. While most of these tributes and studies have emanated from Buenos Aires, a number have come from the United States. This is eminently fitting. As a great admirer of the United States and one of the most devoted and enthusiastic disciples of the great New England educator Horace Mann, Sarmiento was one of the first South Americans adequately to interpret the northern republic to its southern neighbors. Quite properly, therefore, Dr. Nichols calls her three excellent essays "A Chronicle of North American Friendship." The first of these, entitled "Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, pioneer educator of Chile and Argentina," throws into relief the personality of this remarkable man and gives us a rapid sketch of his political career. It is the best biographical sketch of Sarmiento which we have in English. The second essay, "A United States Tour by Sarmiento in 1847," sets forth in some detail his impressions of a journey which extended to New England on the north, Cincinnati on the west, and New Orleans on the south. Sarmiento was on his way back to South America from Europe where he had been sent on an education mission by the Chilean government. The most important event of this brief sojourn in the United States was the meeting with Horace Mann. The influence of the great New England educator was to remain an inspiration to Sarmiento throughout his life. Dr. Nichols supplies abundant evidence that the young Argentine was an acute observer of our country. In fact, his account constitutes an important document for the social historian of our forties. Of greatest significance is the last essay, "Sarmiento in our Sixties." On this occasion Sarmiento remained parts of three years in the United States as Argentine minister; he returned to his country in 1868 to accept the presidency. His interest in our institutions, our political problems, and above all our education system, was indefatigable. The death of Lincoln, of whom Sarmiento wrote a biography, was a blow to democracy the world over. The impeachment trial of Johnson "was, in my opinion, the most notable act of this kind in the nineteenth century. . . . Democratic institutions have emerged unscathed from this terrible ordeal." His enthusiasm at times becomes lyrical. A meeting of the Massachusetts Teachers' Association "is one of the most imposing spectacles which can be offered to human contemplation." His great friend Horace Mann was dead, but thanks to Mrs. Mann—his guardian angel, as he called her—Sarmiento established fruitful contacts with many of the foremost intellectuals of New England, including Emerson, Longfellow, and Ticknor. With his eyes "glued to the car window" he took a long rail-

road journey which brought him as far west as Chicago. One of the high moments of his trip came in Ann Arbor where he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws of the University of Michigan. To Sarmiento, who was inordinately proud of being self-made and self-taught, this tribute may have well seemed the culmination of his whole intellectual career.

It is to be hoped that sometime Dr. Nichols will see fit to expand these articles into a full-length biography of Sarmiento. In the meantime we may be grateful for this fine interpretation of one of the most dynamic and colorful personalities in the whole domain of Hispanic American history. All three of these essays are written with competency and charm.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

Fundación de Escuelas Públicas en la Provincia de Buenos Aires durante el Gobierno Escolar de Sarmiento, 1856-1861, 1875-1881. [Publicaciones del Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires; Documentos del Archivo, Tomo IX.] Advertencia de Ricardo Levene. (La Plata: Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1939. Pp. xix, 725.)

This volume is one of the numerous works that have been published in the Argentine Republic in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the great Argentine statesman and educator, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. It contains the documents relating to the founding of schools in the Province of Buenos Aires in the two periods indicated above when Sarmiento was Chief of the Department of Schools. In the former period 32 schools were founded, in the latter 104. Documents relating to the earlier period fill 130 pages of the collection.

The number of schools founded is not, however, a true indication of the relative importance of the work of each period. The former period was, in fact, the more important. The end of the Age of Rosas found Argentina without an educational system. Sarmiento, therefore, when he took in 1856 the office of head of the provincial schools had practically to build from the ground. The task was a challenge and Sarmiento was richly qualified to accept it. His experience in the schools of Chile and the three-year educational mission which he had performed in Europe and the United States at the instance of the Chilean government had acquainted him with the latest educational theory and practice. His enthusiasm for the work of Horace Mann in Massachusetts inspired many of his educational measures. In the

early period the foundation was laid on which Sarmiento and his successors later built. One of his most important successes was that of securing in 1858 a law which provided for the levying of specific school taxes. One of his first acts was to found a journal, *Anales de la Educación Común*, through which to instruct the public and arouse sentiment for an effective school system. Sarmiento introduced in Argentina the kindergarten and the high school. Among curricular reforms which he effected was the introduction of English and French, vocal music and drawing.

In the second period, while more schools were founded than in the first, the task was largely one of consolidation and development. A notable achievement was the law of 1876 which gave a unified organization to the provincial system, formerly administered under four distinct authorities. Another journal was founded, *La Educación Común en la Provincia de Buenos Aires*. When the City of Buenos Aires was nationalized, Sarmiento resigned the provincial post to accept a similar one in the national government.

Not all of the schools represented in this collection were inspired by Sarmiento, though much the greater part were. Nor are all of the Argentine schools which Sarmiento assisted in founding represented here. No account is taken of his educational work when he was governor of the Province of San Juan in the early sixties, nor when he was national president in the years 1868-1874. Sarmiento's educational activities in the presidential period were of the greatest importance.

The volume contains reproductions of several plans or sketches of school buildings and a number of facsimiles. One of them is the title page in Sarmiento's hand of the "Constitución del Colegio de Señoritas de Santa Rosa," a school established in 1839, one of Sarmiento's first educational foundations.

WATT STEWART.

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Gregorio Luperon é Historia de la Restauración. By MANUEL RODRIGUEZ OBJIO. (Santiago, República Dominicana: Editorial El Diario, 1939. 2 vols. Pp. 364, 368.)

Gregorio Luperon, born at Puerto Plata in 1839, played an important rôle in the War of Restoration (1863-1865) and in the jockeying for political power which accompanied and continued after that struggle against Spanish reannexation of the Dominican Republic. Holding high office in each of the five provisional governments of the two-year Restoration period, he managed to survive the fall of each

with increased personal prestige, until, in his twenty-sixth year, the presidency itself seemed to be within his grasp. His own fall came when he alone dared challenge the election of Buenaventura Báez in 1865. Defeated, for the next six years he fought the old *caudillo*, enjoying brief success in 1866-1867, but generally on the outside trying to break in.

Because he never attained the presidency, Luperon's contemporary fame has been obscured, but, perhaps for the same reason, he remains the only untarnished hero of the Restoration. Moreover, as Objío observes, his biography is a history of the period, since he alone played a major part continuously from 1862 to 1871.

The author, Manuel Rodríguez Objío, also took part in these events, but his weapon was the pen rather than the sword. He became the chief propagandist of his faction and Luperon's private secretary. It was during their exile in 1870 that this work was written, with Luperon's approval and with his private papers at command. On its completion the biographer joined his subject in one more attack on Báez, and so came to face a firing squad on April 18, 1871, in the thirty-third year of his age.

The work remained in manuscript until 1939, when it was published by the Dominican government in honor of the centenary of Luperon's birth. The editor is Luis E. Alemar, himself a student of Luperon's career. The work of the press is excellent.

Objío's history is a detailed and circumstantial account by a participant having the advantage of a confidential relationship to his subject and access to private documents. Its defects are the defects of those virtues. Luperon is always the "*brillante joven héroe*," of course. Otherwise the first volume (1839-1866) is a balanced and well-written narrative. The second volume (1866-1870) is composed of documents quoted *in extenso*, the text serving only to bind them together. These documents form an interesting and valuable collection, but they hardly constitute the inner history which Objío could have written. Even the private correspondence here published is in the language of *pronunciamiento*. When the circumstances in which the book was written are considered, it becomes evident that it is Objío's last and greatest effort as a propagandist.

The second volume is of most interest to American readers, treating as it does of the opposition to American annexation of Santo Domingo. Even though Objío is less than candid, there is enough to show that his party was already committed to uncompromising opposition to Báez before the issue of annexation arose; that some of its leaders (but not Luperon) were themselves willing to negotiate with

the United States; that both parties were intimately connected with corresponding parties in Haiti; that the opponents of annexation were utterly dependent on Haitian support; and that they were unable to enlist any considerable support among the Dominican people.

This last point is in marked contrast to the spontaneous and widespread revolt against Spain recounted in the first volume, but corresponds to the initial lack of opposition to Spanish reannexation in 1861. If American occupation had actually occurred and had been followed by real or fancied abuses, there might have been a similar revolt. However, it is possible to deduce from Objio's account a conclusion which he would have strenuously denied, that in the actual circumstances a large majority of the Dominicans were not opposed to annexation by the United States.

Washington, D. C.

LUDWELL LEE MONTAGUE.

So Live the Works of Men. Edited by DONALD D. BRAND and FRED E. HARVEY. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1939. Pp. 366, 35 pls., 24 figs. \$10.00.)

This very handsome volume was published in honor of the seventieth anniversary of Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett. Dr. Hewett first came to New Mexico in 1898 as president of the newly organized Normal University at Las Vegas. Since that time he has been active and prominent in scientific, educational and public affairs, not only in his adopted state but throughout the southwest. A man of boundless energy and unusual organizing ability, Dr. Hewett has made his influence powerfully felt in many quarters. The University of New Mexico, the Archaeological Institute of America, the San Diego Museum, the State Teachers College of San Diego, the University of Southern California, the School of American Research, the Art Museum at Santa Fe, are among the institutions and organizations to which Dr. Hewett has devoted himself with untiring zeal. His imprint upon the Southwest is indelible, the present volume an appropriate tribute to him and to his work.

The twenty-seven essays in *So Live the Works of Men* are quite varied as to subject matter and caliber. Apart from the first three, by Lansing B. Bloom, Arthur Stanley Riggs, and Paul A. F. Walter, Sr., respectively, which deal with Dr. Hewett, his character, life and achievements, the subjects run from "The Empire of the Inkas," by Julio C. Tello to "Anthropological and Archaeological Riches in the Far Northwest," by Ales Hrdlička, which emphasizes the importance of the Siberia-Alaskan connection for American anthropology; from

"A Square Kiva at Hawikuh [New Mexico]," by F. W. Hodge to "Some Ancient Records from Babylonia," by Carl Sumner Knopf; and from "New Applications of Tree Ring Analysis," by Florence M. Hawley, dealing with the technique of dating prehistoric sites by means of tree rings, to "Aeneas as a Hero," by Louis E. Lord. "The Mollusca of New Mexico and Arizona," by Junius Henderson, struck the reviewer as a bit out of place in a volume of anthropological essays.

Dr. A. V. Kidder's "Notes on the Archaeology of the Babicora District, Chihuahua," Dr. Brand's "Notes on the Geography and Archaeology of Zape, Durango," and "The Development of a Unit Type Dwelling," by F. H. H. Roberts, Jr., are noteworthy, and of especial interest to students of the Southwest. Reginald Fisher sketches pueblo political organization in "An Outline of Pueblo Government." Byron Cummings, like Dr. Hewett a veteran of the Southwest, contributes "Early Days in Utah."

Other essays are "Ceramics and Chronology in the Near East," by W. F. Albright; "Early Racial Fusion in Eastern Mediterranean Lands," by H. Rushton Fairclough; "Mongolian Epics (Diary Leaves)," by Nicholas Roerich; "The Horse in American Indian Culture," by Hartley B. Alexander; "The Poetry of Indian Songs," by Frances Densmore; "Indian Petroglyphs from the Western Plains," by E. B. Renaud; "Southern Mound Cultures in the Light of Recent Explorations," by W. K. Morehead; "Recent Epigraphic Discoveries at the Ruins of Copan, Honduras," by S. G. Morley; "Anthropological Miscellany: 1. Chainfern and Maidenhair, Adornment Materials of Northwestern California Basketry; 2. Kiowa Memories of the Northland," by J. P. Harrington; "A Word on Philology," by Hans N. von Koerber; "Archaeology as a Science," by Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, and "Anthropology and Education," by Lyman Bryson.

Some might wish that a volume of this sort would confine itself more narrowly in its range of topics. But, to others, a stroll through random miscellany might be a pleasant adventure or diversion. Only 600 copies of this work were printed.

University of Michigan.

LESLIE A. WHITE.

Ultima Thule. Further Mysteries of the Arctic. By VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON. Illustrated by Alexander Popini. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. 383. \$3.50.)

The interest of this work for students of Hispanic America lies in the 150-page section on the subject "Did Columbus visit Thule?" This concerns the reputed voyage of Columbus to Iceland in 1477, and

its possible connection with the early Norse voyages to Vinland. Mr. Stefansson prints translations of the two essential texts, from Ferdinand Columbus's *Historie* of his father (this, unfortunately, only in the bad Churchill's *Voyages* translation of 1744), and Las Casas' *Historia de las Indias*, chapter iii, which was evidently taken from the now lost Spanish original of Ferdinand. He quotes what almost every "authority" has said about this Iceland voyage, and legitimately pokes a good deal of fun at the historical profession. In general, the "authorities" who know something about navigation and the Arctic accept Columbus's Iceland Voyage; it is the indoor or warm-water navigators who shout "inadmissible!", "incredible!" and "inconceivable!"

One thing Mr. Stefansson does not investigate is the provenance of the story. It appears in chapter iv of Ferdinand's *Historie*. That chapter is an *omnium gatherum* of whatever Ferdinand could cull from the Admiral's writings about his early voyages, prefaced by an apology for not having asked him for more details when he had the opportunity. It includes an accurate extract from a letter to the Catholic Sovereigns, the whole of which is found in Columbus's Book of Prophecies; three correct quotations from the Journal of the First Voyage; a correct translation of part of Columbus's *postilla* No. 490 to Pierre d'Ailly; and four quotations not found elsewhere. These four are Columbus's statement that he began sailing at 14, a fragment about a storm between Porto Santo and Lisbon, the voyage to Tunis under René d'Anjou, and the Icelandic voyage in question. Vignaud, Magnaghi and others have argued that the two last were cock-and-bull stories invented by the Admiral or his son or by D. Luis Colón, but are vague about the motive for such a forgery. By the ordinary canons of textual criticism there is no reason to doubt that the Tunis and Iceland stories are bonafide quotations from writings of Columbus now lost.

The Iceland voyage is quoted by Ferdinand as a *memoria o annotazione* (memorandum or annotation) in the Admiral's own words, of which the purpose was to prove that all five zones were habitable. It is followed by a quotation from Columbus to the effect that he had been at São Jorge de Mina below the equator, and there found the Torrid Zone to be habitable. This last quotation may be a paraphrase of *postilla* 22 to Columbus's copy of Pius II's *Historia Rerum*, or of *postilla* 16 to his copy of Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi*. But it is much more likely to be a literal translation of a third *postilla* (for Columbus liked to repeat this observation) to another book in the Biblioteca Colombina, now lost. Research in the cosmographical works

printed in Columbus's lifetime that are mentioned in Ferdinand's catalogue of his library, would probably identify the book where these two Columbian *postille*, the Iceland voyage and the Mina observation, annotate a passage stating that the Arctic and Torrid Zones are uninhabitable.

Mr. Stefansson makes a convincing argument for the Iceland story being correct. He adduces abundant evidence of there being an open sea in February well north of Iceland, as Columbus stated he saw it. The Admiral places Iceland about 10° too far north, but that was no great error for a navigator to make in 1476. He says that "Tile" is further west than "the meridian which includes the West according to Ptolemy," which is true of Iceland; for Ferro, Ptolemy's furthest west, is on long. 18° W. and Iceland extends to long. $24^{\circ} 32'$ W of Greenwich. The only incredible thing in Columbus's narrative is his statement that there is a 26-fathom rise and fall of tide. Mr. Stefansson believes Ferdinand's *maree* to be "waves" (but Columbus uses *marea* for "tide" in his Journal for November 18, 1492); and if his *braccio* means a Genoese instead of a Spanish fathom, that only brings the tide down to 47 feet, and the extreme range at Reykjavik is 13 feet. This "whopper" about the tides need not, however, throw out the whole story. Even nowadays strange things are observed at sea which one discounts and forgets because one knows they are not so. Columbus was in the far north, ready for anything; he may not have approached Iceland near enough to observe the extreme range of tides, or he may have confused them with those of Bristol, which run up to 43 feet. There are dozens of possible explanations. Columbus later reported even stranger things, such as the North Star being elevated 42° at the coast of Cuba, and changing its polar distance in southern latitudes; but only a fool would on that account say that his voyages to Cuba and to Trinidad were fictitious.

The Iceland voyage of Columbus, therefore, appears to me to rest on good evidence. But I part company from Mr. Stefansson in the use he makes of it. He would make this voyage a sacred text in a new theory which he and other North Americans of Scandinavian stock are adding to the already extensive stock of Columbian heresies. We already have the Vignaud-Carbia hypothesis that Columbus was seeking only islands, the Portuguese *politica de mistério*, the *Colón Español* notion, and the *Colom Catalá* or *Colonus-Scolvus* syllogism of Señor Ulloa. Now we have what I shall call for want of a better term, the Arctic Inspiration. The Secret of Columbus was this. In Iceland he picked up information about Greenland and Vinland which gave

him the stuff on which he based his westward voyage. "Europe knew in the fifteenth century that the Icelanders knew about America," says Mr. Stefansson; the papacy knew there was a Norse settlement in Greenland, but Alexander VI suppressed this information to please his Spanish compatriots. Ferdinand innocently let the cat out of the bag.

Every "debunker" of Columbus or protagonist of some odd theory about the American discovery has to imagine an enormous amount of suppression and faking. D. João II of Portugal discovers America, but puts it away, as it were; Ferdinand, Las Casas, and others busy themselves forging letters, garbling the Journal, and even putting fake annotations in the margins of books; Genoese patriots invent a false pedigree and forge a will; and now Alexander VI, of all people, puts a padlock on his Greenland correspondence in the Vatican Archives. But, if everybody in Europe knew about Greenland, the Pope could not have suppressed it; if nobody but he and Columbus knew about Greenland, he didn't have to suppress it. What danger was there for Spain in admitting that Columbus knew about Greenland and Vinland, if he did? Was Norway likely to put in a claim for Haiti or Cuba? Or, if the King of Norway thought Columbus had merely rediscovered Vinland, why did he not contest the Bull of Partition?

Mr. Stefansson's belief that the popes knew this "secret of Columbus" is based largely on the well-known letters of Nicholas V (1448) and Alexander VI (c. 1492-93). The former says that "about 30 years ago," some pagans invaded Greenland, destroyed most of the churches and inhabitants, leaving the survivors without bishop or priest. He wants the bishop in Iceland to investigate and do something about it. Alexander VI states that no vessel has touched at Greenland for 80 years, that his predecessor appointed one Fr. Matthias as Bishop of Greenland, and he is about to undertake a voyage thither.

In 1921 a Danish archaeological expedition excavated Herjolfsnes, the principal Norse settlement on Greenland. Physically degenerated bodies dressed in clothes of fourteenth-century style were found, as well as some artifacts of the early fifteenth century. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it is probable that the Norse settlement dwindled away and finally died out after 1500. Intercourse between Greenland and the outside world was certainly very infrequent during the fifteenth century. Even Pining and Porthorst in 1473-81 seem to have visited only the wild East coast. But this generally accepted theory of the isolation and gradual degeneracy of the Norse in Green-

land is very repulsive to Mr. Stefansson. He prefers to believe that in Columbus's day a roaring trade was going on in white falcons, and that the Norse bodies found in 1921 were rachitic not because the fifteenth-century Greenlanders suffered from malnutrition, but because they ate too many dainties and luxuries imported in exchange for the falcons. He would have us believe that Columbus in Iceland learned about this trade, and about Vinland too, from maps or merchants, or by talking Latin with learned Icelanders and so getting the gist of the Saga of Eric the Red.

By these arguments, which are developed more fully in Mr. Stefansson's introduction to *The Three Voyages of Sir Martin Frobisher* (1938) than in the book under review, the Columbian voyages become a mere sequel to and consequence of the earlier Norse voyages to Greenland and North America. The discovery of Leif Ericsson becomes the starting point of a series of events which suggest to Columbus his great "enterprise of the Indies." Such is the gist of the Arctic Inspiration; Cabot and Columbus were as dependent on Leif Ericsson and Eric the Red, as Pizarro and Orellana were on Balboa and Columbus.

One may point out that Vinland does not appear on a single pre-Columbian map; that Greenland, on the few pre-Columbian maps that include it, is depicted as a peninsula extending westward from northern Asia, which would not have told anything to Columbus; that he never subsequently refers to Iceland, although frequently he refers to experience in Guinea voyages; that he does not even say that he called at Iceland; and that the course he took in 1492 is almost exactly opposite to the course anyone would take for America by the Greenland route. These considerations would not affect Mr. Stefansson or his converts. Of course, they would say, Columbus kept his Iceland information secret, because he did not care to give the Norse any credit. Ferdinand gave him away by accident. This Icelandic or Arctic solution to the "Columbus Question" makes an emotional appeal to "Nordies" who doubt the possibility of "Latins" doing anything original in the way of seafaring; and if Mr. Stefansson has not solved anything, he has probably founded an historical sect.

Harvard University.

S. E. MORISON.

Orígenes de la Imprenta en España y su Desarrollo en América Española. By JOSÉ TORRE REVELLO. (Buenos Aires: Institución Cultural Española, 1940. Pp. 354.)

Within the space of a few months the prolific Argentine historian, Sr. Torre Revello, has added to his already impressive list of publica-

tions two more weighty volumes of fundamental importance and exceptional merit. Both are significant contributions to the cultural history of Spain and its former colonies in America and they will stand as monuments to the author's remarkable achievements in research. The first was the immensely valuable study and collection of documents entitled *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América durante la dominación española* (Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, núm. LXXIV, Buenos Aires, 1940: 269 + cccxxviii + 19 pages), and the second is the work under review, in some respects an expansion and elaboration of chapters in the earlier book discussing the introduction of the printing press in the Peninsula and in the Spanish Indies.

The fifth centennial of the printing press in Europe was the occasion for the preparation of the present work of which the *Institución Cultural Española* of Buenos Aires has published a limited edition of three hundred copies in a large and handsome format, beautifully printed and profusely illustrated. It is much more than an attractively manufactured piece of book-making, however, for it brings together in compact and concise form the best and most recent research on the fascinating subject of printing in Spain and in colonial Spanish America. The body of the work consists of three main parts, of which the first is devoted to the beginnings of the printing press in the Peninsula, the second and longest to tracing the history of the presses in various parts of the Indies, and the last offers a more detailed account of the early printing press in Buenos Aires. After each succinct chapter appear facsimiles of the incunabula and early products of the printing presses discussed, and these illustrations, some in two colors, total seventy-one well-reproduced plates. Content and form combine to make this work a prized collector's item.

Of most general interest is the second section, the most extensive of the three, entitled "Desarrollo de la imprenta en la América Española." Here the author briefly records in chronological order the history of each colonial printing press from its introduction to 1810. The account begins, of course, with the installation of a press in Mexico City and the author, citing a letter of Bishop Zumárraga to Charles V, dated May 6, 1538, sets the time of the first Mexican press as 1535, four years prior to the generally accepted date. In that year a certain Esteban Martín was reported to be operating a printing-shop, and the first work published is thought to be the *Escala espiritual para llegar al cielo* of San Juan Climaco, translated into Castilian by Friar Juan de la Magdalena. Successive printers are then briefly discussed and a complete list is offered of known practitioners of the

typographical art in New Spain down to 1810. Similar treatment is accorded the subject of printing in Lima, Pueblo de los Angeles, Guatemala, and the various other centers, each in the order of the introduction of the press, with Guayaquil receiving its printing press just as the colonies begin to break away from Spain. An artistic map of Hispanic America indicating the place and date of the first press in each locality is placed at the beginning of this section and affords the reader a handy summary and reference chart.

As is the case of most of Sr. Torre Revello's volumes, there is a substantial appendix offering valuable materials such as a chronological table of the first printers and the first known product of their presses in colonial Spanish America; a selective, classified bibliography of printing in Spain and its former colonies, including the Philippines; and the text of a number of documents relating to the introduction of the printing press in Buenos Aires.

This important work is a rare combination of beauty and utility.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Brown University.

Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783.

By ALFRED BARNABY THOMAS. (Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1941. Pp. ix-xi, 273. \$3.00.)

The task facing Don Teodoro de Croix, in 1776 given command of the Northern provinces of New Spain, was one of the most difficult that could have been found in the New World at the time. In a frontier region roughly a thousand miles in length from Texas to the Gulf of California, and some three hundred miles in depth, lived a scanty population of Spaniards, mestizos, and reduced Indians. This vast region was largely desert, criss-crossed by mountains and hills, and with only occasional regions where a population might support itself. Its ever-present danger lay in constant Indian warfare, partly against the frequent rebellions of tribes living within the region itself, and partly against the powerful groups inhabiting the territory to the North. Of the former the Seri of Sonora were characteristic, while the latter had in its numbers some of the most dreaded Indian warriors of North America—the various groups of Apache, the Comanche, and the cannibal Karankawa of Texas.

To meet these dangers, Croix had a thin line of *presidios*, often poorly located, and definitely undermanned. Back of him he had an uncoöperative viceroy and an impoverished crown, and in the newly organized district he was opposed by groups with special interests who objected to curtailment of privileges and profits.

This volume from the pen of Dr. Thomas indicates the situation in detail, and presents the plans of the man appointed governor of the newly organized Commandancy-General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain. The problem itself was old, and insoluble under the circumstances, but Croix spent his health and private funds in an attempt to improve conditions. The volume thus serves as a case study in Spanish colonial administration as well as a detailed history of a period, and is valuable as an addition to other monographic studies, already published, of the northern frontier of New Spain. It has been carefully written, and attractively presented by the publishers, and its usefulness is enhanced by well-chosen maps and tables.

DONALD ROWLAND.

University of Southern California.

Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar. By FERNANDO ORTIZ. (Havana: Jesús Montero, 1940. Pp. 475. Illus. \$3.00.)

Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar was written by a president of an academy of history. In its prologue it is hailed by a man who knows what history is, as a "fundamental work on a Cuban national theme," and an historical magazine requested a review of it.

Yet a reviewer might begin to suspect the book of being a political treatise by the time he arrives at Herminio Portell Vilá's signature at the end of that prologue. His uncertainty might well become confusion as he turns the volume's pages in fruitless search for footnotes which usually guide a reader to an appreciation of the use made of original sources in compilation of a work. Not a significant footnote—indeed, no footnotes at all! No bibliography of secondary sources, which doubtless Sr. Ortiz found more accessible than documents; nor even an index—only, at the end of the book, a table of contents misnamed "*indice.*" One is reminded of the famous Spanish architect who spent a lifetime compiling a masterly tome, and then published it without an index. When a student who desired to use the volume lamented this omission, the author retorted hotly: "It took me many years to write that book, and you may well spend a few to find out what's in it."

Any reader willing to devote time to the matter will discover that in *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Alzúcar* Sr. Ortiz has brought together much material which is accessible elsewhere; and little that is not. Bacon said, "Of the making of books there is no end," but there should be an end to the reprinting by presidents of academies of history of whole chapters out of other peoples' books (pp. 332 *et seq.*,

lengthy citations from Oviedo, Las Casas, Saco). There should be a law against the presentation of "fundamental works" which add nothing to knowledge of their subjects because no spade work of investigation has been done in preparation of them. And this law should be universally applied—in the United States as well as in Cuba.

There is no excuse, given the authorship of the volume under review, for the guesswork concerning the commencement of the sugar industry in Cuba which appears on p. 386 and on p. 393. Sr. Ortiz's "deduction" in that matter might have suffered alteration had he studied more closely the circumstances and precedents for the emission of the *cédula* of February 13, 1523, which he is mistaken in believing was important for Cuba. *Cédulas* identically worded had been important for other islands, to which its opening statement of causes applied. Determined to let nothing get by them, Cuba's emissaries at court procured the issuance verbatim of the same order addressed to Cuba. Close study of available source materials indicates that little or no real development had preceded and suggests that little immediately followed it.

"Let us ask, now," writes Sr. Ortiz, "where was erected the first *trapiche* in Cuba?" Why not cease to ask, and devote energy to finding out? To do so will require investigation at Seville. Certainly no answer is to be obtained in libraries by culling other men's posies. It will take real research to reconcile, for instance, Diego de Soto's protest (*A. de I.*, 2-5-2/25) dated June 3, 1577, that the colonists of Cuba ". . . no tienen haciendas ni ingenios sino es lo que siembran para comer y algun ganado vacuno . . .," and Domingo de Orive's assertion (*A. de I.*, 54-1-32), one or two years later that ". . . es notoria la gran pobreza de aquella isla y que en ella no se labre ni coge azucar sino tan solamente cueros vacunos," with Pedro de Menéndez's desire to make sugar in 1565 at Matanzas with Florida Indian-slave labor (*A. de I.*, 53-6-5, II; 79-4-2, p. 158, *cédula*, February 25, 1567; 54-2-3, Alonso Suárez de Toledo to the crown, November 10, 1582), and statements concerning existing *ingenios* made by Bishop Cabezas, Sánchez de Moya, and *vecinos* of Santiago de Cuba and Bayamo when they sought a subsidy similar to that which brought the Cuban sugar industry, almost like Minerva from the forehead of Jove, out of the Chorrera *zanja* at the end of the sixteenth century.

It will require work to establish facts in the place of surmises. Experience would avoid the unsafe acceptance (p. 394) of a general *cédula* like that issued to Cuba on February 13, 1523, as conclusive evidence that the production and commerce it was intended to make possible had commenced prior to that date. Such research, experience,

and judgment are to be expected as matters of course from academicians. Some research student should take up the subject of Cuba's two great industries as Sr. Ortiz leaves them in his *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar* and write a history of one or both.

IRENE A. WRIGHT.

Washington, D. C.

First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692. Translated with Introduction and Notes by J. MANUEL ESPINOSA. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940. Volume X. Pp. 319. \$4.00.)

Vargas reconquered New Mexico in two major expeditions. The first of these in 1692, the subject of this volume, had for its purpose: "... a preliminary visit to the revolted province in order to learn the state of affairs there, to reduce and conquer the apostate rebels by force of arms if necessary, and to verify the reports of quicksilver mines in Sierra Azul." For background Dr. Espinosa sketches Spain's early invasion of the Pueblo area, describes the region in the seventeenth century and outlines the revolt of 1680. Here too we find new data on the Vargas family whose history begins in 1080 and on Vargas himself in New Spain.

The bulk of the translated material is made up of two long documents: Vargas' campaign journal and correspondence from August 21 to October 16, 1692, and the campaign journal and correspondence from October 16, 1692 to January 12, 1693. The record gives us for the first time a clear and comprehensive picture of the events of the first expedition heretofore known through fragmentary sources. In the editing Dr. Espinosa has noted for future students the errors of the earlier authorities, particularly Bancroft and Twitchell.

From the Introduction and the Documents as a whole much new material appears. There is for example Vargas' own report of his expedition, evidently in 1691 along the frontiers of New Mexico and Sonora. But one wonders why Father Kino does not give us some information on the undertaking since it drew upon the garrisons of Sonora and Sinaloa as well as upon El Paso. Again the data on Sierra Azul and the eastern Apaches gives us new light on the Pueblo relationships with neighboring regions. Behind Vargas' detailed exposition of this comparatively bloodless entry, we can see the leaders of the Indian Pueblos and their people. While their peaceful submission is remarkable, it was not forthcoming without reassurances that the old practices of exploitation would not be revived (pp. 81, 83). The Pueblos' desire for Spanish aid against their enemies, too, helps to

understand their docility (p. 110). Throughout the record is extensive evidence of Pueblo agriculture, maintained in spite of repeated attempts at reconquest, Apache invasion, and inter-Pueblo conflict. In short their customs and attitudes reflected here leave the historian with the impression that these people were something more than the Conqueror's characterization of them: apostate, traitorous, treacherous, rebels.

This excellent collection of documents, well translated and competently introduced by Dr. Espinosa, definitely supersedes all other authorities on the First Expedition. Their story deepens our knowledge of New Mexico, both of the Spaniards and Indians, adds to the history of Spain in the Southwest and is additional evidence that American colonial history is struggling to get out of its traditional straight-jacket.

ALFRED B. THOMAS.

University of Alabama.

Historia de la Ciudad de México según los relatos de sus cronistas. By ARTEMIO DE VALLE-ARIZPE. (Mexico, D. F.: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939. Pp. 541. \$10.00 m/n.)

This rather unusual book might best be described as a heavily annotated anthology of historical works dealing with Mexico City. Forty-two selections, including two from his own works, have been presented by Valle-Arizpe, each one following almost the same pattern. First, a brief biography of the author of each citation is given, then a few pages describing some part of Mexico City is quoted, and finally, copious notes are added, supplementing, or at times correcting, the authors.

The book is divided into two sections: "Ciudad Antigua" and "Ciudad Colonial." However, one selection from José María Marroqui is given for the republican period, and added to the colonial part. For the most part, the works are arranged chronologically by the period discussed in each selection, irrespective of whether the material comes from a contemporary account or from the pen of a more recent historian. Almost no attempt is made to bring related subject matter together. The principal square, or *Zócalo*, the territory immediately adjacent thereto, and the more important churches and monasteries, as might be expected, receive the attention of most of the book. Descriptions of customs, as well, are presented. The attempt to give a fair presentation of the chroniclers of the city and at the same time to maintain chronology and to present a picture of the city often succeeds only in bringing about confusion. Perhaps it would have been

better if Valle-Arizpe had tried to do only one of the above things. The lead of the late Luis González Obregón of using a topical treatment might well have been followed, and certainly would have given more clarity to the picture.

On the whole, however, the book is a welcome addition to the study of early Mexican history. Its value lies more in its bibliographical contribution than in its purely factual information, for while the work is quite sketchy and haphazard in its treatment of Mexico City, it does bring out important biographical and bibliographical data on the chroniclers of the capital of New Spain. Other selections might have been added to the impressive list presented by Valle-Arizpe, as for instance, parts from the famous *Diarios* of events in the city or from the writings of Sigüenza y Góngora, but the book does not pretend to be exhaustive.

While the selections give a fair sample of the style and writings of the various authors, still the quotations were not made with exacting care. Accents and capitalization are almost always changed to agree with modern usage, and in some cases, the same applies to the spelling. The quotations often begin in the middle of a passage and end in the middle of a sentence, without any indication that something might be missing. Also, newly created chapter headings are used rather than those originally chosen by the authors themselves, and since no page or volume citations are given, it becomes difficult to identify the place from which the part was taken. Quotations from non-Spanish sources are made from already existing translations.

In some ways it also might have been better if Valle-Arizpe had paraphrased instead of quoted his sources, for then a more complete picture of the authors and their works, as well as the subject matter, could have been given, as a result of reorganization of material and economies in space. Thus the book would have become more comprehensive and coherent.

Valle-Arizpe's own style is very pleasing. He is, to be sure, one of the literati of Mexico, and has gained notice both for his works of fiction and of history, although he has become best known for his historical contributions. His works have almost all dealt with the locale of Mexico City, and in some ways this book represents a compendium of his notes taken while doing his other research.

CHESTER L. GUTHRIE.

The National Archives.

Bernardo de Balbuena. By JOHN VAN HORNE. (Guadalajara: Imprenta Font, 1940. Pp. 183. \$1.00.)

Alonso de Ercilla. By GERARDO SEGUEL. (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1940. Pp. 70.)

Professor Van Horne gives us a new perspective on Bernardo de Balbuena, poet and churchman, in this minute and scholarly work. Though Balbuena spent the greater part of his life in the New World, he preferred to write about Spanish subjects. In this he offers a distinct contrast to Alonso de Ercilla whose few years of residence in the New World produced *La Araucana*, a New World poem of epic proportions. Gerardo Seguel calls Ercilla the founder of Chilean poetry and thought.

Seguel's study of Ercilla and his work is one of interpretation and consequently lacks the scholarly detail and analysis of Van Horne's study of Balbuena. Almost half of the work is an anthology of significant passages from *La Araucana*, cited to substantiate Seguel's thesis that Ercilla was the founder of Chilean national thought. Seguel takes exception to the widely accepted belief that Ercilla wrote the *Araucana* to avenge himself on Don García Hurtado de Mendoza for condemning him to death. Seguel contends that Ercilla does not give much of a part to D. García because the action of the poem is collective rather than individual. The theme of the poem is the struggle for independence, and in this sense the work is a precursor of the struggle against Spain and the emergence of Chile as a free nation. Whether one agrees with this thesis or not, it is an interesting interpretation of Ercilla's rôle in Chilean history.

Professor Van Horne does not assign such a dynamic rôle to Balbuena. The poet-priest of San Pedro wrote *El Bernardo* and other works not because he was absorbed by a great idea, but because he craved fame.

The greater part of Professor Van Horne's book deals with Balbuena's life. With scanty scraps of documentary material he works out a fairly satisfactory chronology. Illegitimate son of Bernardo de Balbuena and Francisca Sánchez de Velasco, the poet went to Mexico at an early age and probably spent his formative years there. Little is known about his education though there is some basis for believing that part of it was received in Mexico City. In 1586 he became chaplain of the Audiencia of Guadalajara and in 1592 he went to San Pedro Lagunillas as parish priest. It was while he was in San Pedro that he wrote *El Bernardo* and incorporated in Book XVIII of the poem a flight over Nueva Galicia by Malgesí and his companions. In

1602 he went to Mexico City, and to the years immediately following belongs *La Grandeza Mexicana*, published in Mexico in 1604. The joy and exuberance of this work Van Horne attributes to the relief the poet felt on emerging from his period of hibernation in San Pedro.

Balbuena was now over forty years old and if he was ever to achieve his clerical ambitions, a trip to Spain was imperative. This he undertook. It was during this residence in Spain that *El siglo de oro en las selvas de Erifile* was published in Madrid in 1607. His masterpiece, *El Bernardo o Victoria de Roncesvalles*, was fated to meet endless delays. Though Mira de Amescua signed the approbation in 1609, it was not published until 1624.

If Balbuena did not see his literary ambitions realized, he did make progress in the church, for he was named Abad de Jamaica in 1608. Inasmuch as Balbuena was illegitimate, a special papal dispensation was necessary before he could take possession. In 1610 he sailed for Jamaica. He found only poverty and want, but showed initiative in solving the problems of the Abadía. At the same time he renewed his efforts to publish *El Bernardo*. In 1619 Balbuena was named Bishop of Porto Rico and in 1623 he took possession of the bishopric. Four years of life remained to him, years filled with the routine of his diocese and the struggle to build it up in wealth and influence.

The rest of Professor Van Horne's book deals with the poet's literary work. For students of Latin-American culture Balbuena's most important production is *La Grandeza Mexicana*, for here is one of the first descriptive poems dealing with the New World, and incidentally one of the first objective poems of that type in Spanish literature. Though Balbuena did not forget his classical training, his interpretation of the world of nature is much closer to reality than Góngora's. And it would probably be no exaggeration to say that the New World gave to the Old in the works of Balbuena, Juan de la Cueva, Salazar de Alarcón, Landívar, and Bello landscapes seen not through the classics or the blurred image of the poet's imagination, but observed directly and faithfully from Nature's own canvas. Such points Professor Van Horne does not discuss, but he does give us all the technical and scholarly apparatus for such a study in the work under discussion and in his edition of *La Grandeza Mexicana* published in Urbana in 1930.

The best and most original part of Professor Van Horne's book, aside from the biographical sections, is that dealing with *El Bernardo*. Though accepting Ludwig Pfandle's definition of *El Bernardo* as a characteristic expression of Spanish Baroque, Professor Van Horne makes the point that the original draft of the poem was written in

Mexico in the late sixteenth century before the baroque spirit had reached full development either in Europe or the New World. It was the subsequent reworking of the poem that gave it its baroque character. The poem brought to the New World the spirit of three luminous works of the Renaissance, the *Arcadia*, the *Orlando Innamorato*, and the *Orlando Furioso*; but it glorified not Italy but Spain. If Balbuena's first published work was *La Grandeza Mexicana*, his last published work might have been called *La Grandeza Española*, for it glorified the spirit that was Spain in that period of conquest and imperialism that produced Cortés, Las Casas, Loyola, and Ercilla.

In these splendid studies of the New World's first poets, Professor Van Horne and Gerardo Seguel have made an original contribution to Spanish and Spanish-American letters to which no review can do justice. Both are thought-provoking. Students of colonial literature in Latin America will wish to have these books in their libraries.

DOROTHY SCHONS.

University of Texas.

El judío en la época colonial. Un aspecto de la historia rioplatense.

By BOLESLAO LEWIN. (Buenos Aires: Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores, 1939. Pp. 158. \$2.00 m/n.)

The booklet deals with the Jews and judaizing converts in Argentina and Uruguay. Its main merit is the fact that the author had access to the archives of those two countries and thus was able to publish various documents which previously had not come to our general knowledge. He, furthermore, was able to use a certain number of chiefly Argentine books and publications to which, in this country, scholars have not always an easy access. Quotations from them and the above mentioned documents constitute the most valuable contribution of the book to our still limited knowledge about the subject.

The manner, however, in which the author represents its topics, lends itself to much criticism. There is no clear nor precise description of facts and developments, but the narrative is steadily interrupted by polemics, emotional utterances and the insertion of whole documents in the text. All this makes reading difficult and not too pleasant.

As to the polemics, much space is taken by the author for arguing against the Inquisition and its procedures. This seems rather superfluous at a time when the judgment about the abuses of that institution is rather unanimous.

On the other hand, the author is not able to apply the scientific criticism which is required in such matters. It is, for instance, a fact

that many of the Portuguese in the countries concerned, during the seventeenth century, were of Jewish descent, but, of course, there were also many others of old Christian stock.

The author, however, in many a passage of his book, takes the identity of Jews and Portuguese for granted. This seems particularly untrue for the eighteenth century and for Uruguay.

The author, incidentally, has only made a rather superficial research in the Uruguayan archives. Therefore, what he has to offer as far as Uruguay is concerned is of rather light weight. I doubt that there were many Jews or Jew-conscious persons in Uruguay in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

A short bibliography at the end of the booklet is an asset. On the whole, as I have already said, the book is useful because of some new information it offers.

ERNST SCHWARZ.

Chicago.

The Conquest of the West India (1578); By FRANCISCO LÓPEZ DE GÓMARA. Translated by Thomas Nicholas. With an Introduction by Herbert Ingram Priestley. (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1940. Pp. xxi, 405, index 3 pp. \$7.50.)

In a recent issue of the REVIEW Ramón Iglesia has set the stage for a possible revision of the conventional evaluation of Gómara's story of the conquest of Mexico. In the reviewer's opinion such a trend is more than justified. Bernal Díaz is in ascendancy, and may always remain so, but a careful comparison of the rival works is definitely called for. In common with Iglesia, the reviewer, without having deliberately collated texts, although having used large portions of both extensively, feels that Bernal Díaz owes more to his deprecated fellow chronicler than appears superficially, and even suspects that the former's remarkable memory for minute detail may on certain occasions actually be Gómara's text. However, all this remains an intuitive feeling which the reviewer is as yet by no means ready to substantiate chapter and verse.

It is against this that the new facsimile edition of Thomas Nicholas' translation is to be considered. Nicholas was in the Canaries toward the middle of the sixteenth century, where he ran afoul of the Inquisition, and was later taken to Castile. Consequently he knew things Spanish and could justifiably undertake translation. As Professor Priestley puts it in his excellent introduction, "Here is a happy opportunity for English readers to hark back to the spirit of times four centuries ago in the perusal of one of the greatest books on

America ever written." It is indeed "most delectable to Reade," quaint, naïve, and vigorous, and anyone will find it absorbing. However, because of the many very important omissions in the translation, which are carefully tabulated by Professor Priestley, and the "rather more than care-free" rendering of the Spanish, the serious scholar would scarcely choose to cite it. But it cannot be gainsaid that anything which makes Gómara's writings more accessible is well worth the effort.

Unfortunately there seems to have been a certain amount of carelessness in cutting pages, causing uneven margins, and there are numerous blemishes in the reproduction of the truly beautiful Gothic letter. To what extent this latter is due to imperfections in the New York Public Library copy which was followed, the reviewer cannot say, as he has not had opportunity to compare the facsimile with that particular original.

ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN.

Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Histoire d'Haïti. By ADOLPHE CABON. (Port-au-Prince: Edition de La Petite Revue and Petit Séminaire Collège Saint-Martial, n.d. Vol. I. Pp. 1-320. Vol. II. Pp. 327-612. Vol. III. Pp. v-vi, 3-418. Vol. IV. Pp. 9-342.)

Cabon's History of Haiti Journalism. Edited with introduction and notes by CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM. (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1940. Pp. 3-87.)

In a recent article, Professor R. L. Schuyler has discussed in most arresting fashion the current tendency here and in Europe to emphasize background history ("The usefulness of useless history," *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1941). "The present-mindedness [he writes] that carries with it a contemptuous attitude toward everything in the past that does not seem to contribute directly to explaining the present has reached its fullest flowering in *our* present." If this be true (and I believe it is true), one can only marvel the more over the writing and publishing of Father Cabon's monumental work. Here is an excellent example of useless history, that is, history written in the liberal tradition with no eye to practical present-day considerations. Only in one respect has the author, a French priest, made a concession to our age—in the title of his book. Feeling perhaps that the word "St. Domingue" would have no meaning to anyone but a few specialists, he has substituted Haiti, although the book deals exclusively with the history of the French colony of St. Domingue from its be-

ginnings to the year of independence (1804) when the successful rebels renamed their country Haiti.

But why devote four volumes, embracing some 1360 pages, to a portion of the history of a fraction of a Caribbean island whose original name has passed into limbo? Modern Haiti is comparatively unimportant. Surely the origins of this small country merit but cursory attention.

Such a view, however, seems to have scant justification. To neglect St. Domingue in the story of modern colonization would be not unlike ignoring the rôle of Periclean Athens in the ancient world. Yet this is precisely what our background historians have done. Seeing only the potential importance of Canada and Louisiana, they have been fond of repeating that the loss of these regions during the Seven Years' War marked the end of the first French colonial empire. They have failed to note that in contemporary eyes, the sugar islands, and particularly St. Domingue, were the prize possessions, the jewels of the empire. St. Domingue reached the pinnacle of its remarkable prosperity between the Seven Years' War and the Revolution. Owing to long-term credits and the richness of the soil not yet exhausted, the planters were able to throw on the market such a wealth of tropical products as to give France a favorable balance of trade and to keep busy hundreds of her merchant vessels. Members of great families such as the Choiseuls, Rohans, and Talleyrand-Périgords, and the foreigners Counts Mercy-Argenteau and Fersen, considered it worthwhile to own plantations there. In 1789, the slave population alone was estimated to be 500,000. One may mention also that the profits obtained from the labor of the sweating blacks were not restricted to the French and to titled foreigners in Paris. Such a swarm of Yankee skippers frequented the ports of St. Domingue that the trade of the United States with this colony became second only to that with England. With these facts in mind it seems closer to the truth to consider the first empire as ending with the loss of St. Domingue rather than with the loss of Canada and Louisiana.

The development of St. Domingue is recounted in full detail by Father Cabon. Considering the rarity of his work (the copy used in writing this review has been borrowed from Professor Rayford W. Logan of Howard University), it is perhaps in order to outline briefly its contents. Volumes I and II, paginated continuously and including roughly half of the entire work, cover the period down to 1788. These volumes are divided into five periods as follows: (1) Preparation, (2) Establishment of the colony, (3) Organization of the colony, 1714-1763, (4) Period of reform, and (5) Prosperity of St. Domingue.

Each period is subdivided into chapters, twenty-five in all. The chapters treat such subjects as the uprising of 1768-1769 (Chap. XVII); the independence of America, that is of the United States (Chap. XX); and agriculture and industry (Chap. XXIII). The author has followed the same system in his second two volumes, which are also divided into five periods. The periods are named: (1) Claiming of rights, 1788-1793; (2) War against the Spaniards and the English; (3) Omnipotence of Toussaint; (4) The French expedition; and (5) The independence of St. Domingue. The chapters here number twenty-six.

One cannot pretend in a review to do full justice to a work of such magnitude. Comments had best be confined to general matters except to express surprise that even so careful a scholar as Father Cabon repeats the apparent error that people in the eighteenth century called the system of restricted colonial trade *le pacte colonial* (II, 455). From the outline of contents it should be obvious that he has well observed the rules of proportion. The revolutionary period with its amazing succession of events virtually demands as much space as that devoted to the entire preceding century. At the same time the history of St. Domingue prior to 1789 needed to be thoroughly treated not only for itself (the people who then lived had no presentiment of a coming revolution) but in order to make the revolution intelligible. As regards tone, Father Cabon is above reproach. Objective and judicious, he threads his way with sure step among the mazes of class and race conflict, giving each group its due. It is not surprising that he writes favorably of Malouet and his balanced views, for Malouet, like Cabon in our day, had had experience on both sides of the Atlantic and possessed a mind capable of profiting from the experience.

Granting the qualities of proportion, objectivity, and judiciousness, which have won it high praise from such exacting scholars as Maurel and Debien, this is nevertheless not a great book. It lacks the touch of genius. Father Cabon's calm detachment keeps him from ever rising to the point of giving us powerful passages on significant events. He has no sense of the dramatic. He never stirs the emotions. Consequently his book is more likely to interest students who already have some familiarity with the subject than to attract new students. Still, new students could hardly be referred to a safer guide in a field where writers have usually indulged themselves (and their readers) with an excessive amount of dramatics and sentimentality.

The smaller monograph, edited by Mr. Brigham, reproduces the French text of Father Cabon's *Un siècle et demi de journalisme en Haïti*, which was originally published in 1919 in a mimeographed

magazine issued at Port-au-Prince, called *Petite revue hebdomadaire*. Like the large work, this study also confines itself to St. Domingue. But the reader must not expect to find treated in this publication a century and a half of journalism. It covers in fact only a period of twenty-eight years, from the founding of the first gazette in St. Domingue by one Antoine Marie in 1764 to the operations of the colonial legislator Dumas, who edited a *Journal politique* in 1792. At the beginning Father Cabon modestly states: "These notes have no other purpose than to recall the names and the principal characteristics of the journals which have appeared in the country." In truth, "these notes" supply a number of illuminating items not found elsewhere. All students of French colonization should be interested in the long quotation on page 81 which explains why St. Domingue occupies the Frenchman's mind while his heart remains attached to France. The American Antiquarian Society has performed a most useful service in making the study available. In his introduction, the editor supplies some biographical data on Father Cabon but, oddly enough, he fails to mention the *Histoire d'Haïti*. The notes contain a list of all the files and issues of St. Domingue newspapers from 1764 to 1794 that he could locate in American libraries.

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

The National Archives.

Conquest of the Seas. The History and Adventure of Sea and Ships.

By FRANK CHARLES BOWEN. (New York: Robert McBride and Company, 1940. Pp. 423. \$3.50.)

According to the foreword, this book is intended "to trace the history of the Sea and of ships through the ages, particularly the part played by the Anglo-Saxons in the conquest of the seas." Actually, except in the broadest sense, it is not a history, but a collection of more or less well-known facts and episodes of maritime significance from the "dawn of sea history" to the nineteenth century. There are 33 chapters containing two or more paragraphs, each provided with a descriptive title. The text is based on four general themes; namely, maritime penetration; trade, exploration and colonization; naval warfare; and the construction, manning and operation of ships. The period from the sixteenth to the middle nineteenth century is emphasized. British activities are stressed, while those of other nations are included only incidentally. The United States is specifically excluded.

In presentation the author has relied to a large extent on well-known phrases, as for example, "Singeing the King of Spain's

Beard," "The South Sea Bubble," "The Opium Clippers," and the like, coupled with names of individuals, ships, and incidents which serve as paragraph titles; under each, a single paragraph varying in length from a few lines to an entire page has been allowed. Obviously, as books can and have been written about most of the subjects mentioned in the paragraph titles, condensation is extreme. This is understandable in a work designed to portray the entire range of British maritime progress and achievement in 217 pages of text. As is so frequently the case, selection has not been uniformly critical. Extraneous or relatively unimportant incidents have been included, while much vital material has been left out. Critical evaluation and interpretation are not attempted.

In size, format, and organization this volume is a companion to the author's *America Sails the Seas*, published in 1938. Entire paragraphs have been transferred bodily and reprinted. The bibliographies are identical, and some illustrations appear in both volumes. The style is popular rather than scholarly, and no footnote citations or references have been included unless a meaningless "see Vol. III, pp. 228-236," appearing on page 353, may be so interpreted. The bibliography is admittedly incomplete and does not pretend to list all works consulted in the preparation of the book. The author states that it was intended to provide the general reader with a "short list of books printed in English which carry the various branches of the subject further than has been possible within the limits of this work and which are to be obtained with little or no difficulty." It is noteworthy more for its omissions than for its inclusions, as well as for the fact that the identical list was printed in *America Sails the Seas*.

Much of the value of the work may be found in the many full- and half-page illustrations. These number 184, and with the exceptions of the jacket and frontispiece are all in monochrome. They are selected from the justly famous Macpherson collection in London, and while many are familiar to the specialist, they are less so to the layman. Unfortunately, in the reviewer's copy, the quality of the reproductions is inferior in many instances, and otherwise excellent and useful illustrations are smudgy and indistinct.

As a kaleidoscopic collection of maritime facts loosely organized on an historical framework, the book has value for the general reader. It may be consulted with ease, for there is a detailed table of contents with each paragraph title, a complete list of illustrations, and an adequate index. Once located, the concise exposition of a particular point may provide the desired information. The work bears evidence of hasty compilation and incomplete organization of the subject mat-

ter. The latter is not a serious criticism when the magnitude of the subject is considered. Its greatest value may be to stimulate the reader to learn more about maritime affairs, and it is to be regretted that means are not supplied in the volume for gratifying this desire.

VERNON D. TATE.

The National Archives.

Contributions to American Anthropology and History. Vol. VI, Nos. 30 to 34. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1940. Pp. 299. \$2.50 paper; \$3.00 cloth.)

Historical research currently conducted by Carnegie Institution of Washington has to do chiefly with the Mayan peoples of Middle America. The feature of this program is the contribution made to it by specialists other than professional historians. The history of the ancient Maya is being written by historians, but also by archaeologists, ethnologists, linguists, and various specialists in agronomy, biology and medicine. The result is diffuse, but interesting.

This volume is one of that series comprising shorter papers prepared by the staff of the Division of Historical Research, and associates. When enough papers are ready to make a volume, they are published. Thus unity of subject matter does not appear in every volume. The last paper in the present publication ("Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem," by France V. Scholes and H. P. Mera) deals not with the Maya but with an obscure question in the aboriginal history of the American Southwest. Who were, tribally and linguistically, the Indians reported under that name (Jumano) by Espejo, Luxan and chroniclers of the Oñate expedition? Scholes, historian, makes more precise the special questions involved, and Mera, archaeologist, at least shows the possibility of identifying archaeologically known sites in the Southwest with Jumano Indians mentioned in historical sources.

Of the four papers on the Maya, the first is the most characteristically historical. Ralph L. Roys, France V. Scholes, and Eleanor B. Adams ("Report and Census of the Indians of Cozumel, 1570") present in original text and translation six documents dealing with the island of Cozumel in the sixteenth century, and write about the island on the basis of these and other sources. To the Indians Cozumel was an important center of pilgrimage. To the early Spaniards it was a remote and unattractive island on the wrong side of the peninsula of Yucatán. The account the present authors sketch is one of conflict between the *encomendero* of the island and the church and civil authorities. The *encomendero* exploited the Indians and did not worry about

their persisting paganism. The documents here presented resulted from the visit to the island of a priest who tried to help and teach the Indians against the opposition of the *encomendero*. There results a small instance of a familiar class of stories in the early colonial history of Latin America.

The authors of this paper attempt to analyze the census made of Cozumel in 1570. They are correct in concluding that the census shows the persistence of compound families. Some of their further conclusions are not so successful. The authors give us to understand that certain cases they list (p. 15) suggest cross-cousin marriage. In fact, all they suggest is a disposition of siblings to marry siblings, with a possibility of brother-sister exchange. The analysis made of the tabular summary of households does not allow sufficiently for the custom of temporary matrilocal residence, which we know the ancient Maya practiced.

In a second paper ("Personal Names of the Maya of Yucatán") Ralph L. Roys makes a short but pioneer study of the subject. He distinguishes effectively among four kinds of names which the ancient Yucatán Maya bore, and throws light on the manner of descent of name, in which both mother-line and father-line were involved. The possibility that the name-groups were totemic is hinted, but not declared.

"Disease and Its Treatment in Dzitas, Yucatán," by Robert and Margaret Park Redfield, bears only indirectly on the ancient Maya. This paper contains the result of a study of sickness and curing among mixed-blood Yucatecans of the present day. The body of beliefs and practices is evidently in part of Indian and in part of Spanish origin. The authors do not attempt to work out the history of this fusion. They are interested in describing a "fairly coherent and widely recognized body of medical lore," and especially in pointing out that this traditional lore no longer satisfies the native of Dzitas, because rival ideas, with superior prestige, have arrived from the city. In particular it is argued that the increase of worry and of witchcraft in this town, as compared with the situation in villages, is connected with the heterogeneity of the town population, and with the general breakdown of the cultural organization.

The last paper "Maize Cultivation in Northwestern Guatemala," based on material assembled by Raymond Stadelman, deals with both the technology and the amount of production of maize in one part of the Maya area. The paper contains abundant data, which are on the whole well organized. The careful reader will experience some difficulty, however, in establishing from what has been published, the

ultimate evidential basis of some of the important quantitative conclusions. For the community chiefly studied there is no map and no census. Averages are given without the gross totals from which the averages must have been calculated. One cannot always tell whether a figure results from careful counting or measuring by the investigator, or from statements made by Indian informants. The paper purports a preciseness which it cannot quite justify.

ROBERT REDFIELD.

The University of Chicago.

Catalogue of the Mexican Pamphlets in the Sutro Collection, 1623-1888. Prepared by the personnel of the Works Progress Administration. A. Yedidia, supervisor. P. Radin, editor. (San Francisco: California State Library, Sutro Branch, 1939-1940. 10 sections. Pp. 963. \$.50 each.) *Supplements* 1 and 2, 1605-1828. A. L. Gans, editor. (San Francisco, 1941- . Pp. 198.)

Among the several government-sponsored projects which have opened rich veins of source materials to American historians, this San Francisco unit seems to have struck a bonanza indeed. The bibliomania of a successful collector was responsible for the library. On two visits to Mexico in 1885 and 1889, Adolph Heinrich Joseph Sutro purchased thousands of pamphlets. Prior to the compilation of the *Catalogue* the reviewer enjoyed the unforgettable adventure of examining the collection. He was amazed at the numerous duplicates, in some cases possibly all copies of a single edition. One can readily subscribe to the theory that entire shelves of a book-dealer's stock were bought at wholesale prices.

Except for the omission of three classes the *Catalogue* includes the bulk of the Mexican pamphlets, published between 1623 and 1888, in the Sutro branch of the California State Library. Periodicals, serials, and government publications are reserved for special catalogues. It was advisable, however, to admit borderline cases into the *Catalogue*. All church publications with the exception of prayers are included in the *Supplement*. The term "pamphlet" is applied to all publications of less than 200 pages. Entries are arranged chronologically; and under each year, alphabetically by author or title. Consequently, the value of the collection can be gauged most accurately by testing its strength at crucial periods in Mexican history.

There are approximately 7400 titles listed in the *Catalogue* and *Supplement* (to date). Of these, 922 bear imprint dates prior to 1800. Over the same period the ratio of church to political, scientific, and linguistic publications is more than eight to one. The first year of the

struggle for independence (1810) is represented by 142 entries; the succeeding one by 80; and the next (1812) during which the Constitution of Cádiz was promulgated, by 92 titles. Repercussions of the revolution of 1820 in Spain are manifest in a majority of the 746 items listed for that year. For the first year of independence there are 577. For the two years of empire 1822 (744) and 1823 (370). Thus, insofar as the *Catalogue* and *Supplement* are indicative, more than one third of the collection is concerned with the major and trivial events of these seven years.

A unique feature of the *Catalogue* is the publication in full of selected titles. The *Supplement* is not so distinguished; but the entries are complete. Notable among the pamphlets given such recognition is *Chamorro y Dominiquin, dialogo jocoserio sobre independencia de la América* (Mexico, 1821) by José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. This is one of the 208 titles which the editor attributes to *el Pensador Mexicano*. Joel R. Poinsett, United States minister to Mexico, is represented by *Esposición de la conducta política de los Estados Unidos, para con las nuevas repúblicas de América* (Mexico, 1827). His challenge is met by *Un amante de su patria. Causas para declarar la guerra a los Estados Unidos del Norte y delitos del ministro Poinsett* (Mexico, 1829). The project would be deserving of high praise without these excellent testimonials.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, printing in Mexico was a flourishing commercial and cultural activity. In *La imprenta en México, 1539-1821*, José Toribio Medina lists 63 printing establishments between 1620 and 1820. Of these, 49 are represented in the *Catalogue* and *Supplement*. Juan Blanco de Alcázar is first with *Floresta latina* (1623). Under father, son, and successors the name "Zúñiga y Ontiveros" endured the longest (1764-1828 ca.); and it is most frequently mentioned.

Everyone connected with this project has had a share in a significant contribution to the bibliography of Mexicana. Let us hope that the appearance of the other catalogues in this series is assured before grave events compel the sponsor to withdraw.

GUSTAVE A. NUERMBERGER.

Duke University Library.

BOOK NOTICES

The European Possessions in the Caribbean Area. By RAY R. PLATT, JOHN K. WRIGHT, JOHN C. WEAVER, and JOHNSON E. FAIRCHILD. (New York: American Geographical Society, 1941. Pp. vi, 112. \$1.00.)

"This booklet," as the preface states, "seeks to provide facts concerning the European territorial possessions in the Caribbean area as a basis for an understanding of their condition today and of changes that may occur in the near future." The material for the most part is compiled from works by other authors. It will be of value as a reference work and also to the general reader who wishes to know something of the European possessions in the West Indies. The geography and the political and social problems of each one are dealt with sketchily but in a way which gives a fairly adequate picture of the region as a whole.

DANA G. MUNRO.

Princeton University.

A New Doctrine for the Americas. By CHARLES WERTENBAKER. (New York: The Viking Press, 1941. \$2.00.)

As Mr. Wertenbaker says in his preface: "This is not a book for scholars. . . . Its aim is to tell the general reader as briefly and as concisely as possible about the policy of the United States toward Latin America. . . ." The author deals particularly with the diplomacy of Mr. Hull and Mr. Sumner Welles and the events of the Pan American conferences held since 1933. It is a lively, journalistic account, fairly free from sensationalism. The "doctrine for the Americas" which the author presents is a compilation of significant passages from declarations and acts adopted at recent Pan American conferences.

DANA G. MUNRO.

Princeton University.

The Chaco Peace Conference. Report of the delegation of the United States of America, to the Peace Conference held at Buenos Aires, July 1, 1935-January 23, 1939. [Conference Series No. 46.] (Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939. Pp. 198. \$1.00.)

The relations between Bolivia and Paraguay have long been dominated by the controversy over the Chaco Boreal. The history of both

countries has also been largely affected by this controversy which goes back many years and which involves colonial claims and divergent interpretations of the principle of *uti possidetis*. Agreements and treaties attempting a settlement of the conflict have been made in the past but failed of ratification by both or either parties. Finally in 1928 military clashes occurred in the area. The International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration which met in 1928-1929 attempted to mediate and both countries accepted the good offices of the conference. But all attempts failed and three years of bloody warfare ensued in 1932-1935. All efforts at peace negotiation failed on the part of sister American republics, neutral commissions and the League of Nations. Peace efforts by others than the belligerents continued throughout the war and finally were successful in bringing hostilities to an end in 1935.

The Chaco Peace Conference is the report of the delegation of the United States of America to the peace conference held at Buenos Aires July 1, 1935 to January 23, 1939. This conference was attended by delegations from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and the United States. During the time of the conference the definitive peace treaty was negotiated and signed on July 21, 1938, the frontier defined and delimited on the basis of the arbitral award of October 10, 1938.

The volume contains a short introduction followed by an analysis of the protocol of June 12, 1935, by which the fighting was ended. Several short chapters follow discussing security measures, the question of prisoners, war responsibilities, arbitration, negotiations and actions taken by the Chaco Peace Conference. The bulk of this little volume is taken up by fifty-one annexes and four maps. The annexes contain the documents, correspondence, and final acts and awards of the Chaco Peace Conference.

The treaty of July 21, 1938, brought to an end one of the last critical territorial disputes between American states. This Peace Conference and its highly successful results have been followed by the development in all the American republics of a strong public opinion demanding peace. The conference demonstrated the fact that disputes can be settled by conciliation and arbitration. It is the fervent hope of the reviewer that war between American republics can be stopped and differences ironed out by resort to these accepted peaceful procedures. It is hoped further that similar action will be taken to settle the last of the critical territorial disputes, that between Ecuador and Peru, and thus make peace in the Western hemisphere a reality. It would be sheer foolishness to read the account of this Peace Con-

ference and then deny that the Oriente dispute between Ecuador and Peru cannot be settled without resort to war. Moreover the Peace Conference has most assuredly furthered not only the cause of peace in this hemisphere but has also developed more hemisphere solidarity and Pan-Americanism.

A. P. NASATIR.

San Diego State Teachers College.

Cuentos de la pampa. By MANUEL UGARTE. (Santiago de Chile: Empresa editora Zig-Zag, 1940. Pp. 179.)

Facundo. By DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO. Delia Etcheverry, editor. [Clásicos argentinos. Vol. II.] (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Estrada, 1940. Pp. 468.)

Two useful editions of well-known Argentine works.

Historians know Manuel Ugarte as author of *El destino de un continente* and as ardent crusader against imperialism. But Ugarte is a man of letters as well—a literary critic and the author of numerous collections of short stories. The importance of this new edition of his *Cuentos de la pampa* is twofold. Containing the stories from other collections (notably, the *Cuentos argentinos*), as well as those from early editions of the *Cuentos de la pampa*, this new volume synthesizes the author's entire work in the field of the short story. The publishers note that this is "the first coherent edition, revised by the author and, therefore, definitive"; as such a "definitive" edition, its value would seem to be unquestionable. Clearly printed in a volume of comfortable size and bearing the author's portrait as frontispiece, the volume is of practical utility.

Since its first printing under the title of *Civilización i barbarie* (Santiago de Chile, 1845), Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Facundo* has passed through many editions and has been translated into several foreign languages. Any new edition of the book, then, would seem to need to demonstrate new utility through the addition of interpretative or explanatory material. The present edition contains such material—a prologue ("Algunos aspectos literarios de *Facundo*") by María Inés Cárdenas de Monner Sans (v-xvi) and the extensive historical and linguistic notes by the editor. The edition includes as well the appendix of the second edition (Santiago de Chile, 1851), and a letter from Sarmiento to Matías Calandrelli, with reference to certain archaic characteristics of the Spanish to be found in his book.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Washington, D. C.

Domingo Cullen. Santa Fe y la organización nacional (1818-1838).

By SALVADOR M. DANA MONTAÑO. (Santa Fe, República Argentina: Imprenta de la Universidad del Litoral, 1939. Pp. 287.)

An analysis of the rôle of Domingo Cullen in support of the cause of Argentine Federalism.

In this study Cullen is portrayed as an active agent of Governor Estanislao López in his attempt to obtain the freedom of the several Argentine provinces, so that the future general organization of the country might be founded upon a solid basis of local autonomy. Cullen's work in the negotiation of the Federal Pact and on the Representative Commission of the Governments of the Littoral mark steps along the sure road to definitive organization, an organization unhappily retarded by the opposition of General Rosas and by the unfortunate deaths of López and Cullen.

In contrast to the true Federalism of López and Cullen, the author emphasizes the "pseudo-Federalism" of Rosas. Rosas opposed the organization of the country because a "Constitution occasions the death of dictatorship." This opposition of Rosas to the work of Cullen is then traced through the machinations which ended the Commission in 1832, through the disagreement of the two men in regard to the French blockade, and through Rosas' intervention in Cullen's provisional governorship of Santa Fe after the death of López; the conflict terminated with Rosas' decree of death for Cullen. The statement of Cullen's "crime" is the statement of the whole thesis of this book—Cullen attempted to give a Constitution to the country, despite the manifest desires of the Restorer.

Pages 137-286 contain the 81 documents from the Archive of the Province of Santa Fe, upon which the author has based his book.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Washington, D. C.

Nuestro Belice. By DAVID VELA. [Publicaciones de la Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales.] (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1939. Pp. 195.)

Opinion of the Geographical and Historical Society of Guatemala on Guatemala's Right to British Honduras. Translated from the Spanish by ROBERT E. SMITH and ANTONIO GOUBAUD CARRERA. Second Edition. (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1939. Pp. 17.)

These two publications contain statements of the claims of Guatemala to British Honduras. The first consists of a series of sixty-six editorials published in *El Imparcial* in 1938. They are not intended

to be a documented statement such as the Guatemalan government would prepare but a brief history of the controversy from the earliest times to the present. The purpose is to awaken the conscience of Central America to what the author believes is the justice of the Guatemalan position. Much space is given to a particular and detailed discussion of the treaty of 1859 and the convention of 1863 between England and Guatemala. The texts of numerous documents, a list of maps, and a bibliography are included in the volume. The title of the last editorial is "The Spontaneous Recognition and the Complete Satisfaction of the Rights of Guatemala is Ethical and Imperative for England."

The second work is a pamphlet prepared by the Geographical and Historical Society of Guatemala, setting forth its views on the Belize question. The argument is based largely on documents published by Sir John Alder Burdon in his *Archives of British Honduras* (London, 1931-34, 3 vols.). It is concluded that "The treaty of 1859 having been invalidated through non-compliance on the part of England, the Belize situation returns to its *status quo ante*."

The National Archives.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

La isla de Pascua. Dominación y dominio. By VÍCTOR M. VERGARA M. DE LA P. [Publicaciones de la Academia chilena de la historia.] (Santiago, 1939. Pp. xiv, 254.)

Sovereignty and private property in Chile's only colonial possession are the twin themes which Señor Vergara has chosen for study. His most important contribution is an analysis of the development of private property rights on Easter Island, their conflict with government interests after the annexation of the island by Chile, and the liquidation of the controversy through the concession to the *Compañía explotadora* in 1936. Fully two thirds of the book is devoted to publishing documents from civil and ecclesiastical archives in Chile.

The Bancroft Library,
Berkeley, California.

WOODROW BORAH.

Florida, Land of Change. By KATHRYN TRIMMER ABBEY. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. 426. Illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography and index. \$3.50.)

Since the suspension in 1933 of the notable publication program of Florida historical materials directed by the late James A. Robertson, only one book of comparable distinction has appeared in this field, Irving A. Leonard's *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693* (Quivira Society, 1939). The publication now of Kathryn T. Abbey's

Florida, Land of Change, admirably illustrates the value of the ground work begun the middle of the last century by Buckingham Smith, continued by Woodbury Lowery, and later carried on in such successful measure in the Robertson series. When this publication program is revived, as planned by the Florida Historical Society under the chairmanship of John B. Stetson, Jr., opportunities will be enlarged for the further synthesis of printed materials which is so ably demonstrated in Dr. Abbey's long-awaited and much needed volume.

The relation of *Florida, Land of Change* to the field of Hispanic-American history is twofold. First, it is concerned with the discovery, exploration, and colonization of that part of North America claimed by Spain as Florida, including roughly much of North America. Second, it treats of Spain's colonial administration of this area for almost three centuries when, having been slowly contracted by Anglo-American aggressions, the boundaries of the Spanish colonial empire were pushed out of the southeastern part of North America into the Caribbean.

As would be expected of a book designed for general use, emphasis has been placed on Florida's relatively brief one hundred twenty-year period as a part of the United States. Attractively printed and well illustrated, the book fills the demand for a comprehensive and comprehending history of Florida. Realistic incidents brightening each chapter and a fluid style provide popular appeal to an organization of content and treatment which meets the requirements of scholarship. Many original maps and a bibliography selected for its accessibility add to the general usefulness of what is by far the best and most interesting history of the state.

A. J. HANNA.

Rollins College.

Gaceta Histórica. Centro de Historia del Norte de Santander. Tomo IV, abril de 1939 a mayo de 1940. Números 13 a 16. Edición consagrada al general Francisco de Paula Santander en el primer centenario de su muerte. 6 de mayo de 1940. (San José de Cúcuta, Colombia: Imprenta Departmental, 1940. Pp. 308 +.)

Bolívar y Santander. Correspondencia, 1819-1820. Publicaciones del "Archivo Histórico Nacional." Director: Enrique Ortega Ricaurte. Ministerio de Guerra. (Bogotá: Imprenta del Estado Mayor General, 1940. Pp. vii, 241, xxv.)

The issue of *Gaceta Histórica* dedicated to Santander should have a prominent place among the many publications commemorating the hundredth anniversary of his death. It contains a genealogy, several

eulogies, documents tracing his career from baptism to burial, and several inedited letters. The History Center of Norte de Santander is located at Cúcuta, birthplace of "the Organizer of Victory, Man of Law, Eminent Proponent of Public Education, and Moulder of the Civil Features of Colombia."

With two exceptions, the 161 letters found in *Bolívar y Santander. Correspondencia, 1819-1820* have not been published previously. They are taken from the *Guerra y Marina* and *Historia* files of the National Archives of Colombia. That of Bolívar to Santander, Cristobal, February 8, 1820, appears to be an abridged duplicate of the one in Lecuna's *Cartas del Libertador*. That of Santander to Bolívar, Santafé, January 20, 1820, has important variations from the one appearing in Archivo Santander. One letter is in triplicate, as the two copies have different postscripts.

The wealth of detail relative to military, financial, and civil affairs from the battle of Boyacá to the signing of the Armistice constitutes a tribute to the courage, initiative, wisdom, and persistence of the heroes who drove the Spanish out of most of New Granada during that period.

Santander's letters show great affection and admiration for Bolívar, though they indicate that the writer was thinking for himself. As early as 1820 there was talk of establishing separate governments for New Granada and Venezuela and signs of friction between the leaders of the two sections were appearing.

Person and place indices enhance the reference value of these well-edited letters.

A preliminary note on "Histories and Archives" by Laureano García Ortiz is critical of Restrepo, Groot, and Posada Gutiérrez, lauds several recent writers, and compliments the national academies of history of Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia for their work in making source materials available to the public.

WILLIAM H. GRAY.

The Pennsylvania State College.

"*The Americas: South and North*," *Survey Graphic*, Vol. XXX, No. 3. (New York: Survey Associates, 1941. Pp. 216. \$0.50.)

Within the covers of this special number of the monthly journal *Survey Graphic* are twenty-two articles by representatives of government and industry, publicists, and historians. Among the contributors are A. A. Berle, John I. B. McCulloch, Major General Frank R. McCoy, Hubert Herring, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Lewis Hanke, and Charles W. Taussig. The theme of these authors is current inter-

American relations, but the subjects embrace many aspects of those relations: defense of the Americas, totalitarian influences, interchange of cultural ideas, economic ties and obstacles, conditions of women and children, and others. The articles are well written and beautifully illustrated.

ALMON R. WRIGHT.

The National Archives.

Puerto Rico in Pictures and Poetry. By CYNTHIA PEARL MAUS. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1941. Pp. 196. Illus. \$2.50.)

This is a curiously intriguing little volume. Its character is specifically indicated by the title. The compiler's thesis as given in the brief historical introduction is that "the poets portray for us, perhaps better than anyone else, the heart of a people, while artists and camera devotees picture for us nature's entrancing beauty."

Consonant with this principle the compiler has assembled 64 selections of some 13 poets and 49 illustrations, 48 of which are full page and 3 colored. Selections and illustrations are matched with discriminating appreciation, the whole forming a sympathetic picture of the island.

An appendix "Who's Who Among Contributing Poets and Artists" is an interesting feature.

The disregard of the rules for the use of the orthographic accent in the Spanish names, *e.g.*, Balséiro, Benitez, Franquíz, Cóncha, Rafaél Arróyo, etc., was probably intended as a guide to pronunciation for English readers.

The presswork is good and the illustrations well executed.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

Liberators and Heroes of South America. By MARION LANSING. (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1940. Pp. xiv, 320. \$2.75.)

As implied by its title this book consists of short biographies of the heroes of the South American countries, primarily of their heroes of independence. After three brief chapters describing the background of conquest, the aboriginal inhabitants, and colonial life, three chapters are devoted to Miranda; five (including one each on Mariano Moreno, Belgrano, and O'Higgins) to San Martín; and five to Bolívar (including one each on Páez, Sucre, and Santander). In Brazilian history there is a chapter apiece on Tiradentes, José Bonifacio, and each

of the two Dom Pedros. Then follow two chapters on "Two nation builders," Unánue of Peru, and Sarmiento.

Although the author specifically declines to tell her authorities "since their inclusion would not serve any helpful purpose," she could have derived all her information from Robertson's *Rise of the Spanish American Republics as told in the Lives of their Liberators*, supplemented by a few of the documents in the *Memoirs of O'Leary*, and possibly by a glance at one or two other well-known works. There is nothing new in any of these biographical sketches, but the old, old material has been put in new and popular form. Yet the historical student will find less than a half dozen errors of fact, none of them serious enough to mislead the reader. The most inexcusable mistake, probably not the fault of the author, is the depiction in the colored frontispiece and on the paper outer cover, of a mounted hero, probably intended for Bolívar, waving the red, white, and blue flag of Paraguay, instead of the yellow, blue, and red of Venezuela or Great Colombia.

Although this book will be scorned by historians, it will be welcomed by the casual reader who wants to learn something about the history of his neighbors to the south. Now that North Americans are travelling to South America, any book which tells them about that history and explains the heroes whose statutes they will see adorning the plazas of the cities visited, is of value as creating a better understanding between the peoples of the Americas. Because of its timeliness and of its popular format (it has twenty-four sepia illustrations depicting the portraits of the heroes and the scenery of their lands, and no bibliography nor footnotes to bother the reader) this book will find a welcome among this limited class of readers and should have a place in the libraries of all ships sailing to South American ports.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Rollins College.

Culto Bolivariano. By ANTONIO ARRÁIZ. (Caracas: Talleres de la Editorial "Cóndor," 1940. Pp. 229.)

The great interest in Venezuela being demonstrated today in the United States has no doubt been greatly enhanced by the increased interest expressed by the Venezuelans themselves in their independence leaders and especially in Bolívar. This interest was demonstrated by the publication in 1929-1930 of the ten volumes of *Cartas del Libertador*, edited by Vicente Lecuna, followed by the *Proclamas y Discursos del Libertador*, edited by the same outstanding Bolivarian scholar in 1939 and printed for free distribution by the Venezuelan Government. *Culto Bolivariano*, published under the auspices of the Ministry of

National Education, continues this policy and extends the study of Bolívar to the public-school system of Venezuela.

Drawn up in the form of a work-book, the text includes a succinct biography of the liberator, but the major part of the book consists of "lessons." These lessons are divided into direct quotations from Bolívar's letters and speeches, events in the life of Bolívar as described by others, and questions for the pupils to answer. Interspersed are directions to teachers. One outstanding feature is the inclusion of an *ideario* at the end of each lesson upon which the class is to meditate. These include such famous sayings of Bolívar as "Nuestras discordias tienen su origen en dos copiosas fuentes de calamidad pública: la ignorancia y la debilidad," and "Es preciso que el gobierno se identifique al carácter de las circunstancias de los tiempos y de los hombres que lo rodean."

Fritz L. Hoffmann.

University of Colorado.

Mexico and the Fascist Menace. By ALEJANDRO CARRILLO. (Mexico City: "La Impresora," 1940. Pp. 19.)

The Second Six Year Plan and Avila Camacho. By GENERAL HERIBERTO JARA. (N. p.: n. p., n. d. Pp. 19.)

The Second Six-Year Plan. Mexico Builds. 1941-1946. By the Mexican Revolutionary Party. N. p.: n. p., n. d. Pp. 144.)

Partido de la Revolución Mexicana. Declaraciones del C. Gral. de División Heriberto Jara, Presidente del C. C. E. del P. R. M., Definiendo la Posición del Partido Frente a las Actuales Maniobras Políticas de la Reacción. (N. p.: n. p., 1940. Pp. 15.)

El General Antonio I. Villareal Repudia la Candidatura del General Almazán. By the Centro Nacional Defensor de la Revolución. (Mexico City: "La Impresora," n. d. Pp. 31.)

Homenaje al Glorioso Ejército Nacional. By the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana. (Mexico City: "La Impresora," 1940. Pp. 34.)

Mensaje del Señor Presidente a la Nación. By LÁZARO CÁRDENAS. (Mexico City: n. p., 1940. Pp. 16.)

The Mexican presidential campaign of 1940 saw a flood of literature. The pamphlets cited above, distributed free, are mainly the publications of the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana, the government party which won the election. These pamphlets should be placed in historical collections for future reference, although the one by

Carrillo, editor of *El Popular*, the influential labor daily, could perhaps be used by speakers on present-day developments in Latin America. Lic. Carrillo, as one should expect, found the candidacy of Almazán a Fascist threat within Mexico. *The Second Six-Year Plan, 1941-1946*, as the published statement and platform of the Mexican Revolutionary Party, is certainly the most valuable of all these pamphlets, especially for the student of Mexican history. It contains the Second Six-Year Plan and the speeches and opinions presented at the national assembly of the party held in Mexico City in November, 1939. All of these publications as well as others, including campaign posters, are available by writing to the Executive Committee of the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana, Mexico City.

Fritz L. Hoffmann.

University of Colorado.

Legado Mambí. Formación, Odisea y Agonía del Archivo del General Máximo Gómez. By GERARDO CASTELLANOS G. (La Habana: Ucar García y Cía., 1940. Pp. 86.)

In this booklet Dr. Castellanos makes a passionate plea for the publication and preservation of the papers of General Máximo Gómez who played a leading rôle in Cuban history during the last third of the 19th century. The author tells of the odyssey of these papers which serves as an example of what may happen to a collection of private manuscripts. The accumulation of the papers in war time, their deposit for twenty-two years in the National Archive, their return to the custody of the family, the disagreements of the children regarding their disposition, the appointment of commissions to arrange and publish them without the assignment of funds with which to operate, and the general indifference of the government as to their fate and ownership, are the episodes which make up the story. The collection comprises some 34,000 documents, including the diary of Gómez, which for many years have been kept in four cedar boxes. With funds provided by the Government in 1937 most of the records have been transcribed and are ready for editing and publication. It is estimated that when printed they will fill 60 volumes. The author believes that these papers will shed much new light on the revolutionary struggles from 1868 to the achievement of Cuban independence and on the men who participated in that period of history.

Roscoe R. Hill.

The National Archives.

Algunas Cartas de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, escritas 1538-1552.

Publicanlas Alberto Vázquez y R. Selden Rose. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940 [1935]. Pp. xlv, 430. \$3.00.)

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, brilliant brother of Don Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain, despite an outstanding European diplomatic career and evidence of first-rate literary importance, has never before had a representative series of his correspondence published. The co-editors have made a careful selection from his voluminous correspondence conserved in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, in Madrid, the *Archivo General*, in Simancas, the *Archivio di Stato*, Florence, and the *Biblioteca de Palacio*, in Rome, with due reference to the *Calendar of State Papers* and other prior publication. They generously acknowledge indebtedness to *archiveros* everywhere and, in particular, to Miss Alice B. Gould, to whom all scholars who have visited Valladolid and Simancas have been obligated.

The letters are, in the main, directed to his two close friends and confidants, Don Francisco de los Cobos, the powerful counselor of the Emperor, and Antonio Perrenot, the Bishop of Arras. Save for incidental references to Antonio de Mendoza, their chief concern is with European affairs and family matters. The letters are lively and escape the restraints of ordinary official correspondence. Their satire and humor suggest strongly that we have here the author of the *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

The editing is competent and the accompanying notes add greatly to the value of the volume. Use of Professor E. D. Salmon's study of the Mendoza family might have saved the editors some labor and would have helped in the identification of persons referred to only casually in the letters.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The University of Michigan.

Documentos inéditos referentes al ilustrísimo señor don Vasco de Quiroga existentes en el Archivo General de Indias. Recopilados por NICOLÁS LEÓN, con una Introducción by JOSÉ MIGUEL QUINTANA [Biblioteca Histórica Mexicana de obras inéditas 17.] (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1940. Pp. 91. \$1.50.)

In 1903 Dr. Nicolás León published his well-known biography of the Bishop of Michoacán, don Vasco do Quiroga. Subsequently the distinguished Chilean bibliographer José Toribio Medina uncovered additional materials in the Archivo General de Indias which Dr. León

published in an appendix to his work. Additional important documentation was secured for the Archbishop of Michoacán, Atenógenes Silva, through the efforts of Medina, and León secured copies of these from which the texts, reproduced in the volume under review, were established. The documents deal primarily with founding of the hospitals of Santa Fé de México and Santa Fé de Michoacán, the beginning of the Colegio de San Nicolás and Quiroga's quarrels with residents of Guayangareo (Valladolid de Michoacán) arising out of his effort to make Pátzcuaro the chief city and seat of the Bishopric. The *juicio de residencia* of Quiroga, as a member of the second audiencia, contains the charges made against him and the sentence of absolution of the judge, *oidor* Francisco Loaysa.

This little collection of documents is a welcome addition to extant printed materials on this great pioneering ecclesiastic in Mexico, and emphasizes the long-felt need for a new full-length biography by someone competent in both Church and Latin-American history.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The University of Michigan.

Derrotero y Viaje a España y las Indias. By ULRICO SCHMIDL. Translation and commentary by Edmundo Wernicke. (Santa Fe: Instituto Social, Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1938. Pp. 245.)

In 1535, Ulrich (or Utz) Schmidl, a German adventurer, shipped from Seville on one of the Plata-bound ships under the command of Pedro de Mendoza. After twenty years of service as "sargento arcabucero" with Martínez de Irala, Schmidl returned to his homeland and wrote his memoirs, which were first published in 1567. Wernicke contends that the German editions as well as the Spanish, French, and English translations are defective because they are based upon plagiarized and inaccurate copies of Schmidl's original manuscript. The latter, now in the public library of Stuttgart, was used for the first time in the preparation of the present Spanish version. There are, indeed, significant discrepancies between the Stuttgart MS. and the 1567 edition used in making the English translation for the Hakluyt Society in 1891. Wernicke's collation of texts and his commentary (dealing largely with orthography and phonetics) constitute a desirable supplement to the critical notes of previous editions. But the question of Schmidl's dependability, raised by Luis Domínguez in his introduction to the Hakluyt edition, remains without clarification. Wernicke has confidence in the essential veracity of this "conquistador de raza germana"; but many will continue to believe that if Schmidl

told the truth, his contemporary, Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, must have possessed supernatural gifts for prevarication.

Duke University.

ROBERT S. SMITH.

Visita de curioso al convento de Huexotzinco Cholula-Parangon. By FR. LUIS DEL REFUGIO DE PALACIO Y B. (Guadalajara: Editorial Font, 1937. Pp. 107.)

Edificios coloniales artísticos é históricos de la República Mexicana que han sido declarados monumentos. By JORGE ENCISO, LAURO E. ROSELL, LEOPOLDO MARTÍNEZ COSÍO, and others. (Mexico, D. F.: Talleres Tipográficos de la Editorial "Cultura," 1939. Instituto Nacional de Antropología é Historia, Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales. Pp. viii, 259.)

A few words suffice to describe these two works. The first is a somewhat detailed description of the Franciscan monastery in Huexotzinco, with some attempt to give the historical background. The aim of Fr. L. de Palacio seems to have been to bring about a wider recognition of the artistic and historical merits of the monastery. However, while the book was waiting almost nineteen years for a publisher, the monastery, on November 8, 1932, was made a national monument, and so became nationally recognized. This fact, strangely enough, is not mentioned in the book, or in the preface or appendices. The work is well printed, on excellent paper, and beautifully illustrated. The author's style seems a little labored and archaic, however.

The second volume comprises a profusely illustrated catalogue of 447 national monuments of Mexico. The entries are arranged alphabetically by state. Each monument is described as to location, name, and date of recognition by the republic. Also, a brief statement—usually no more than one sentence—of the historical background, and some comments as to the architectural or artistic features are given. One short paragraph usually suffices for each item. This work was prepared for the purpose of serving as a vest pocket guide, and as such, it should serve its purpose admirably.

The National Archives,
Washington, D. C.

CHESTER L. GUTHRIE.

Unión Interamericana del Caribe, Segunda Reunión, *Memoria*. (La Habana, 1940. Pp. 207.)

This is the report of the second conference of the Inter-American Union of the Caribbean held at Ciudad Trujillo from May 31 to June

6, 1940. It contains lists of delegates and committees, minutes of the sessions, texts of the greetings sent to the presidents of the Caribbean countries, together with the replies, official addresses, and texts of the eighty-seven resolutions and recommendations adopted by the delegates. The resolutions cover a wide range of cultural, commercial and kindred subjects, since the purpose of the Union is to adopt measures considered appropriate to foster peace, culture and union among the Caribbean nations.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Una casa habitación del siglo XVIII en la Ciudad de México. By ALBERTO LE DUC, ROBERTO ÁLVAREZ ESPINOSA, JORGE ENCISO, and others. (Mexico, D. F.: Talleres Tipográficos de la Editorial "Cultura," 1939. Secretaría de Educación Pública, Instituto Nacional de Antropología é Historia, Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales. Pp. 75.)

A beautifully printed and illustrated work descriptive of the old eighteenth-century colonial structure at 18 Antigua Calle de la Monterilla, now known as 5 de Febrero, Mexico, D. F. After a short historical introduction, the remainder of the book is devoted to a discussion of the floor plans and architectural features of the house. Six color reproductions of the *azulejos* are given in the back. For anyone who might desire a good descriptive analysis of a representative piece of baroque architecture of the eighteenth century in Mexico City, this is indeed recommended. It is concerned more with architecture than with history. The house is now a national monument of the Mexican Republic.

CHESTER L. GUTHRIE.

The National Archives,
Washington, D. C.

Los conquistadores: progenitores de los costarricenses. Biblioteca patria, IV. By various authors in collaboration with José Francisco Trejos. (San José, Costa Rica: Imprenta Lehmann, 1940. Pp. 245.)

This work presents brief biographies of twenty-five founders of Costa Rica from Juan de Cavallón, who began the conquest in 1561, and Juan Vázquez de Coronado, who consummated it a few years later, to Salvador de Torres, who died in 1646. Señor Trejo and his principal collaborator, Juan Rafael Víquez Segreda, have relied wholly on pub-

lished documents and secondary works and add nothing new. The three final sketches were written by Manuel J. Jiménez between 1889 and 1900 and are in the most flamboyant style of the time and place. Those concerned with the *encomienda* will find the re-publication of the tabulation of the first *repartimiento* of Costa Rica in 1569 (B. A. Thiel, *Revista de Costa Rica*, Año VI) of interest. The volume has as its purpose the summarization of data concerning those who founded the colony, and this it accomplishes, but nothing more.

ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN.

Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Pedro de Valdivia. La conquista de Chile. Cartas al emperador Carlos V. Prólogo y notas de Luis Alberto Sánchez. [Biblioteca Amauta. Serie América.] (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1940. Pp. 131. \$12.00 m/n.)

In commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Santiago de Chile in 1541, the Ercilla press has issued a new edition of the five most important letters of Pedro de Valdivia to the crown. Together these reports give a history of the conquest of Chile until October, 1552. They are too well known to need much comment. Both individually and collectively, they have been printed many times in the past century, and in 1929 were included by José Toribio Medina in his virtually definitive edition of the known letters on Chile of Valdivia. Earlier, in 1926, an English translation of them by R. B. Cunningham Graham appeared as an appendix to his life of the Spanish conqueror. The present volume, which reproduces the text and orthography found in the *Colección de historiadores de Chile . . .* (I, 1-62. Santiago de Chile, 1861), provides an accurate, low-priced, and attractive edition. Luis Alberto Sánchez has added the few notes necessary to explain words and passages to the Chilean public, and in his foreword gives a brief sketch of the life of Valdivia, appreciations of the literary and historical value of the letters, and a short, selected bibliography on the founder of Spanish Chile and his epoch. He also has made the interesting and long overdue correction of identifying the royal highness to whom the letter of June 15, 1548, is addressed, not with Charles V or the Council of the Indies as previous editors have done, but with Prince Philip.

WOODROW BORAH.

The Bancroft Library,
Berkeley, California.

Prehistory in Haiti. A Study in Method. IRVING ROUSE. [Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 21.] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. 202, 2 maps, 7 charts, 27 tables, 5 plates. \$2.50.)

This volume is based on field research done in Haiti by F. G. Rainey and the author, but, as the title implies, it is more concerned with methods for interpreting archaeological data than with factual reporting. The latter is comprehensively done in an unpublished manuscript (1938) by these two archaeologists.

Partly incorporating the findings for a doctoral dissertation, wherein all phases of archaeological method were examined, Dr. Rouse has given us a work that is so carefully reasoned and so unparalleled in its systematization of the conceptual basis and procedures for interpretive archaeology that it could well serve as a textbook. Its value lies not in new concepts or procedures but in giving adequate explicitness (sometimes by coining needed terms) and proper emphasis and interrelation to methods which have too often been used carelessly.

The general reader, however, will be more interested in the findings on Haiti prehistory. Three periods are: an early, non-pottery, camping people who used chipped and polished stone; an intermediate horticultural village people who made pottery; a more recent, mainly pre-conquest, people who were similar to the last but used a different kind of pottery. Correlated with archaeological sequences elsewhere, four periods of Antillean prehistory are set up. In general, these do not conflict with the interpretations of previous writers except that, whereas the latter tend to derive all Antillean cultures from the South American mainland, Rouse suggests that the early lithic culture and the pottery of his second Haitian period came from North America.

JULIAN H. STEWARD.

Bureau of American Ethnology,
Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.

Don Mateo Arnaldo Hoevel (1773-1819). By EUGENIO PEREIRA SALAS. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1941. Pp. 39.)

This is a brief but well-documented biography of an important figure in Chilean history between 1809 and 1819. Hoevel—the name is also spelled Hevel, Haevel, Hebel and Hävel—was a native of Sweden who became a citizen of the United States shortly after 1804, and of Chile in 1811. Imbued with the ideals of the French Revolution, he naturally cast his lot with the faction in Chile which opposed

Spain, and became an officer in the army. He was captured after the battle of Rancagua and spent 29 months on Juan Fernández as a prisoner of war. But his chief services to his adopted country were non-military, such as the importation of Merino sheep from Spain and the securing of a printing press from the United States on which the revolutionary *Aurora de Chile* was published, an achievement which earned him the title of "introducción de la imprenta en Chile."

In 1817 Hoevel was put in control of the police force in Santiago and during the few months of his administration he fought a valiant but hopeless struggle to inaugurate such startling innovations as the improvement of sanitation, the establishment of a building code and the suppression of gambling and immodesty in dress. Recalled to government service in 1819, he gave valuable aid to O'Higgins in making preparations for the latter's expedition against Peru, but died before he could complete his task.

WILLIAM E. WILSON.

University of Washington.

Comerio. A Study of a Puerto Rican Town. By CHARLES C. ROGLER. [No. 9, University of Kansas Publications.] (Lawrence: Department of Journalism Press, University of Kansas, 1940. Pp. 198.)

Professor Rogler's study of the Puerto Rican town of Comerío is more than a dissertation; it is a sympathetic and genuinely understanding picture of a typical Puerto Rican community. It is a study which may be said to bear "the stain of the plantain"—the phrase which is used by Puerto Ricans to describe those whose lives have been marked by their attachment to the island.

The reviewer does not feel competent to pass on the quality of Professor Rogler's study from the point of view of scholarship in the field of sociology. It contains trivial errors in some of its introductory historical material. These are, however, distinctly minor matters. In its total the study has a quality of insight which makes it a valuable contribution.

In respect to one area Professor Rogler's study is somewhat disappointing: the meagerness of his discussion of the problem of the poor mountain white—the Puerto Rican *jíbaro*, or hill-billy. This lack, one may fairly assume, is due to the necessity of limiting his doctoral problem. The folk music, folk songs and other folk ways of this important group in the island's population throw light upon many aspects of the island's culture. One student of Puerto Rican affairs has said that the island will never be able to do much to solve her major problems until it has done more to solve the problems of the *jíbaro*.

The administration of Puerto Rico by the United States in the 43 years since American occupation offers altogether too few evidences of statesmanship. The governors of the island, appointed by the President of the United States, have in many cases been merely deserving party hacks who had no qualification for the appointment other than hunger for a job. Professor Rogler's study should make clear to the reader how little such a governor can hope to contribute to the sound administration of insular affairs.

So important does the reviewer regard Professor Rogler's contribution to the understanding of Puerto Rico and its problems that he would place this study among the required books which should be read by any who wish to deal understandingly with Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans.

THOMAS E. BENNER.

Dean, College of Education,
University of Illinois.

The Romantic Movement in Spain. By E. ALLISON PEERS. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940. 2 vols. Pp. 349, 417. \$12.00.)

Because of the inescapable relationship which exists between literature and history in the Hispanic world, this monumental, well-nigh definitive account of a little-known cultural movement will be of interest to all students of Hispanic civilization.

For twenty years, Professor Peers and a band of disciples of the University of Liverpool have been carrying on careful and patient studies in the manifold highways and bypaths of Spanish Romanticism. Fragmentary studies of the greater literary figures, Romantic periodicals, the influence of foreign authors, the native origins of the movement, and bibliography have been appearing over a period of years. At last, we have a complete report, a well-documented synthesis of their labors.

Professor Peers' well-organized story begins with the essential romanticism of the Golden Age, traces the revival of this native romanticism in the 18th and early 19th centuries, discusses the flowering and apparent decay of the movement proper, recording the importance of foreign influences, explains how Romanticism in Spain melted into a native eclecticism, and shows how the romantic ideal has persisted in modern Spanish literature to our own day.

Whatever quarrels the professional literary historians may have with Professor Peers' methods and conclusions, it is safe to say that his work stands alone in its scope and careful documentation. From the historian's standpoint, it is perhaps unfortunate that more space

could not have been given to a discussion of how Romanticism pervaded every field of activity, not being limited to a formal literary phenomenon.

While it was probably inevitable that this treatment of Romanticism should have been limited to Spain, given the detailed and documentary nature of the material, the student of Spanish America cannot but regret that no mention was made of the influence of Romanticism in Spain's former colonies. The movement had an important and significant development in the New World and the absence of any discussion of it in Professor Peers' volumes is a real challenge to American Hispanists. A study of the movement in Spanish America, following the excellent plan of Peers' work, is an important desideratum.

JOHN T. REID.

Duke University.

Notícia sobre o "Arquivo militar de Lisboa," encontrado no Ministério das relações exteriores do Brasil. By LUIZ NORTON. (Rio de Janeiro: Oficina Gráfica Mauá, 1938. Pp. 94.)

The author of this monograph is a distinguished Portuguese diplomat and historian who has carried his researches into the archives of Brazil with excellent results for historical knowledge concerning both Portugal and Brazil. Among his most recent works one which has received a good deal of attention is: *A corte de Portugal no Brasil; Notas, alguns documentos diplomáticos e cartas da Imperatriz Leopoldina* (São Paulo, Companhia editora nacional, 1938. Pp. 466, 15\$000).

Luiz Norton, as well as that other great scholar, Serafim Leite, belong to the group of modern Portuguese historians who came to the conclusion that not all the important sources of historical information relating to their country were to be found in Portugal itself. They have searched far and wide for their materials and have been richly rewarded.

The whereabouts of the valuable collection of documents purchased from the heirs of the Count de Lippe in 1797 and known as the "Arquivo Militar de Lisboa," was unknown for many years, in fact until 1937, when Luiz Norton had the good fortune of finding these papers in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Rio de Janeiro. This collection, as well as many other valuable books and documents, had been brought over in 1807 by the Portuguese Court and was left in Brazil when the Court returned to Lisbon in 1821.

The value of the "Arquivo Militar de Lisboa" can scarcely be overestimated. Marshal Count de Schaumbourg Lippe was chosen to

command the allied Portuguese and British troops which thwarted the Spanish invasion of Portugal in 1762. It may be recalled that this invasion, known in the Portuguese history as the "Fantastic War," was planned and carried out as part of the struggle between France and Spain on one hand, and Great Britain, on the other, under the Family Compact of 1761, which was, in turn, a phase of the Seven-Years War. The "Arquivo Militar de Lisboa" includes documents not only on this war but also memoirs and other papers relating to military and political events of later date, comprising the reigns of Dom José, Dona Maria I and part of the regency of Prince Dom João. Important information is found particularly on Pombal, the famous Prime Minister of Dom José.

Besides an account on the "Arquivo Militar de Lisboa" and how it was found in 1937, the monograph herein reviewed contains a general catalogue of the documents and facsimile reproductions of several of them.

RAUL D'EÇA.

The George Washington University.

Colombian Government Publications. By JAMES B. CHILDS. (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1941. Pp. 41.)

Investigators and students of modern Latin-American political history owe much to Mr. Childs for his complete check-lists of official publications of the governments in that area. Our ignorance of the nature and extent of such publications has been greatly reduced because of this series of pamphlets issued by the Library of Congress.

The latest to be issued deals with the publications of the Republic of Colombia. This pamphlet is characterized by the completeness of its predecessors. In some nine or ten introductory paragraphs, Mr. Childs outlines the nature of the governmental organization, thereby enabling one to make a more sound interpretation of the nature of the publications listed in the pamphlet.

It would be an idle task to set forth in a review the various issuing agencies to be found in Colombia. All that need be said in this connection is that anyone having occasion to acquaint himself with the official publications of a certain department, bureau or other issuing agency can find such information most readily and completely because of the plan of presentation utilized by the author of the pamphlet.

WILLIAM M. GIBSON.

Duke University.

A Bibliography of the Navaho Indians. By CLYDE KLUCKHOHN and KATHERINE SPENCER. (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1940. Pp. 107. \$1.50.)

Since this bibliography is intended primarily for anthropologists, it is only in the section on anthropological material that the compilers have attempted to be exhaustive, and then only so far as published material is concerned. The work should be of some service, however, not only to anthropologists but to historians as well, for one section covers the historical literature "as well as is consonant with the inaccessibility of many of the older books."

The list is divided into six main sections, under the following headings: Bibliographies, reference works, catalogues, and collections of documents; Historical; Environmental; Anthropological; Navaho relations with whites; and Popular. These main headings are further sub-divided. For example, Section IV, Anthropological, is split into the following groups: A. Archaeology and origins; B. Physical anthropology; C. Linguistics; D. Ethnology.

The compilers have not felt obliged to comment upon every item listed. The remarks are neither altogether critical nor altogether descriptive, but are intended merely as an indication of the sort of material contained in the work cited. In the case of works not dealing solely with the Navahos, page references are often included in the accompanying comments. Suggested readings for anthropologists wishing more than a superficial knowledge of the Navahos are marked in the bibliography by asterisks. For persons having a general interest in the Navahos, the compilers have tried to indicate all of the published material which directly concerns them. The chief shortcoming of the bibliography seems to be in the absence of a clear indication of the type and amount of manuscript material to be found in the libraries and archives of the United States and Mexico, but this was outside of the purpose for which the list was compiled.

As a further aid to anthropologists, the compilers have included items which give information on the physical geography and topography, climate, and fauna and flora of the Navaho country. The various means by which the compilers have sought to assist anthropologists in finding certain types of materials on the Navahos should enable this bibliography to fulfil satisfactorily the purpose for which it was intended.

DONALD E. WORCESTER.

Bancroft Library,
Berkeley, Calif.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE PUERTO RICO FOOD ADMINISTRATION: ITS ORGANIZATION AND PAPERS

The United States Food Administration of 1917-1919 was created as one of several special agencies to deal with problems arising from American participation in the World War. In April, 1917, Herbert Hoover was called from his work in Europe as Chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium to assist in planning a national program for food conservation.¹ On August 10, President Wilson signed the Food Control Act, which, with an executive order of the same day, provided for the establishment of the Food Administration and defined its powers.² Hoover was appointed United States Food Administrator and proceeded rapidly with the work of organization. Besides the national administration in Washington, local administrations under federal food administrators were soon functioning in each state and also in Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico.³

Hoover declared, in a public statement of August 10, that his objectives were the elimination of speculation, wasteful methods, and unstable prices from the trade in staple commodities; the control of exports with a view to retaining adequate supplies for home consumption; and the conservation of food and stimulation of production in order that the exigencies of the allied nations might be met.⁴ In seeking to accomplish these purposes, the food administrator possessed, among other powers, authority to enter into voluntary agreements with business men, to issue licenses and regulations, and to buy and sell commodities.⁵ Realizing that the success of the undertaking depended largely on voluntary coöperation, Hoover endeavored to obtain

¹ Frank M. Surface, *The Grain Trade During the World War* (New York, 1928), p. 4.

² U. S. *Statutes at Large*, XL, 276-287. The text of the executive order may be found in U. S. Food Administration, *Report*, 1917, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., House Doc. No. 837, pp. 16-17.

³ U. S. Food Administration, *Report*, 1917, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., House Doc. No. 837, pp. 1-2.

⁴ U. S. Food Administration, *Press Releases*, II, No. 137, August 10, 1917.

⁵ U. S. Food Administration, *Final Report*, in 'The National Archives, FA 1H-A25. The United States Food Administration papers in The National Archives will be cited by their classification number.

the support and good will of producers, distributors, and consumers by appealing to their sense of patriotism. State and territorial administrations were put in charge of able business and civic leaders, who volunteered their services and were accorded wide latitude in carrying out their functions.⁶

Prior to the declaration of war by the United States, mounting prices and the growing uncertainty regarding food supplies prompted Governor Arthur Yager of Puerto Rico to suggest, in his message of February 13, 1917, to the Legislative Assembly, that governmental action appeared necessary to remedy the situation.⁷ A joint resolution, signed on April 12, provided for the appointment by the governor of a non-partisan Food Commission of five members. This body was endowed with broad powers in regard to fixing prices, limiting sales and exports, buying and selling commodities, increasing production, and issuing regulations enforceable in the courts. The governor was authorized to place a million dollars at its disposal, to be used in effecting its purposes.⁸

As finally constituted, the Food Commission included a group of distinguished men, with Albert E. Lee as President and Chairman of the Committee on Transportation. Born in Puerto Rico, Lee was well known in commercial circles and had been President of the Insular Chamber of Commerce and Consul for the Netherlands. The other commissioners became chairmen of committees on fuel, agriculture, publicity, and municipal affairs. Confronted by an economic crisis, the Food Commission held its first meeting on May 5 and began to formulate a program calculated to bring about security and stability.⁹

The Puerto Rico Food Administration was not formed until November, 1917. Although Hoover insisted that it be independent of the Food Commission, he readily selected Lee as Federal Food Administrator. For various reasons, the latter did not complete the new organization until the spring of 1918. Each of the commissioners volunteered their services. Thus, John M. Turner, a native of New York and a prominent merchant, became Deputy Food Administrator; Nathaniel A. Walcott, Director of the Agricultural Division; Luis

⁶ U. S. Food Administration, *Report*, 1917, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., House Doc. No. 837, p. 13.

⁷ Puerto Rico Executive Council, *Journal*, 8th Legislative Assembly, 3d Sess. (San Juan, P. R., 1917), p. 10.

⁸ Puerto Rico, *Acts and Resolutions*, 8th Legislative Assembly, 3d Sess., pp. 368-374.

⁹ Puerto Rico Food Commission, *First Annual Report*, 1917-1918 (San Juan, P. R., 1918), p. 8; also in *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico*, 1918 (U. S. War Department, *Annual Reports*, 1918, III), p. 651.

Sánchez Morales, leading banker, business man, and politician, Director of the Transportation Division; and Manuel Camuñas, Director of the Labor Division. Moreover, E. M. Vassallo, the Food Commission's Secretary, was appointed Assistant Federal Food Administrator; and certain members of its clerical staff contributed their services.¹⁰

The Agricultural and Labor Divisions apparently were not very active, since the Food Commission largely took care of matters which would have fallen under their jurisdiction; and Lee, as chairman of the Porto Rican Producers Committee, a Food Administration agency, supervised arrangements for the export of sugar and other commodities.¹¹ Several other divisions were important. On April 1, 1918, Conrado Asenjo, distinguished author and journalist, was appointed Director of the Division of Licenses and Enforcement. The Educational Division was originally headed by Hiram C. Fisk and after his death in March, 1918, by Fernando J. Rodil, a former teacher and journalist. Dr. Narciso Dobal, a physician, took charge of the Baking Division, organized in May. Henry C. Henricksen, an agricultural expert, assumed responsibility for fairs and exhibits and Oscar D. O'Neill for the use of motion pictures. Francisco Fano served as Lee's private secretary. The chairmanship of the Executive Committee for the Pledge Card Campaign was entrusted to Julián W. Blanco in January, 1918. Local committees, composed of representative men and women, with the mayors as chairmen, were appointed in seventy-six towns.¹²

The Food Administration occupied the same offices in San Juan as the Food Commission. After June, 1918, they were located in the Masonic Temple, which had been purchased by the Food Commission.¹³ Upon that body's dissolution in July, 1919, the building was set aside for the "noble use" of housing "the historical documents of the government."¹⁴ The closest coöperation was practiced by the two

¹⁰ Puerto Rico Food Commission, *First Annual Report*, 1917-1918, pp. 23-24; Questionnaire for Report of Federal Food Administrators, March 13, 1918, The National Archives, FA 140A-A2. Biographical sketches of Lee, Turner, and Vassallo and photographs of members of both the Food Administration and the Food Commission are in The National Archives, FA 6H-C1.

¹¹ Puerto Rico Food Commission, *First Annual Report*, 1917-1918, pp. 49-50.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 26; Questionnaire No. 2 for Report of Federal Food Administrators, August 1, 1918, and Complete Statement of Personnel, The National Archives FA 6H-C1; Conrado Asenjo, *Quién es Quién en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P. R., 1933).

¹³ Puerto Rico Food Commission, *First Annual Report*, 1917-1918, pp. 26-27.

¹⁴ Puerto Rico Food Commission, *Final Report*, in *Report of the Governor of Porto Rico*, 1919 (U. S. War Department, *Annual Reports*, 1919, III), p. 720.

agencies, both of which worked toward the same general ends; although, as has been well stated, "the Porto Rico Food Commission was created, primarily, to assure a food supply for this Island by increasing production and assuring transportation for foodstuffs, and the National Food Administration was intended, principally, for the purpose of providing a supply of foodstuffs for the allies."¹⁵ In actual operation the two administrations could not always be easily distinguished; nor did the Food Commission attempt to do so in preparing its annual report.¹⁶

The Food Administration of Puerto Rico was gradually disbanded in January, 1919, and in February its records, comprising sixty-one bundles, were shipped in two large boxes to Washington.¹⁷ After being stored in various places during a period of seventeen years, they were transferred to The National Archives in January, 1936, together with the other voluminous records of the United States Food Administration. Having been classified and catalogued, they are in good order and can be readily used.

Of these materials the most important are four general correspondence files, amounting to about sixty linear inches. They embody not only the correspondence of Lee and his assistants, but also that of the various divisions, except Licenses and Enforcement. One series is made up of correspondence with the Washington and state offices of the Food Administration. Another is correspondence with Puerto Rico merchants and businessmen in regard to shipments, exports, regulations, the fuel supply, and similar matters. A third deals with licenses and a multitude of subjects arising in local administration, such as agriculture, bakeries, cane mills, the press, the pledge card campaign, and sugar permits. It contains some papers of the Food Commission. A fourth is concerned with the personnel and work of the local committees, which were especially active during the pledge card campaign of February, 1918.

This campaign was designed to arouse the public to the need for food conservation and to secure voluntary pledges of loyalty in support of the Food Administration. Lee had faced difficulties at the beginning because of the lack of understanding evidenced by the people. To translate and publicize the regulations and propaganda literature sent from Washington was a formidable task. It was accomplished, for the most part, by the Educational Division, which prepared arti-

¹⁵ Puerto Rico Food Commission, *First Annual Report*, 1917-1918, pp. 24-25.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁷ Lee to F. F. Jenks, February 11, 1919, and enclosure, The National Archives, FA 6H-A9.

cles for the press and published a bulletin. The pledge card campaign was conducted with the aid of the local committees, numerous speakers, the press, the schools, and the movies; ten thousand people participated, using the slogan "Make Porto Rico Self-Supporting."¹⁸ About 137,000 householders, an estimated sixty per cent of the total number, signed the pledge. Lee wrote to Hoover on February 26, 1918: "During the past three weeks the whole Island has risen to a realization of the importance of food conservation, the response including all classes, even those to whom it is a problem where their next meal is coming from."¹⁹

Unfortunately, there are no separate files for the Educational Division; but records of its work may be found not only in the series of general correspondence mentioned above, but also in the correspondence files of the State Administration²⁰ and Educational Divisions²¹ of the Washington office.

The Baking Division under Dr. Dobal was charged with handling the weekly reports of bakers, made on forms for which a Spanish translation had to be arranged. It also supervised the inspection of bakeries and enforced the baking regulations, particularly with regard to the amount of sugar and wheat flour substitutes used. The file of reports for the period from May to November, 1918, extends to about forty linear inches.

The Division of Licenses and Enforcement, with Conrado Asenjo as director, possessed important functions. It issued provisional licenses to dealers required to apply for Food Administration licenses, handled reports from all licensees except bakers, enforced the food regulations, and conducted investigations. Alleged violators of the regulations were given a hearing; if found guilty, they were usually required to suspend business temporarily or to contribute to some war-relief agency, such as the Red Cross. Members of the insular police were employed as investigators.²²

Of the records of this division, the most valuable are two series of correspondence, totaling nearly fifty inches, in regard to investiga-

¹⁸ Hiram C. Fisk to T. A. Ellis, March 30, 1918, The National Archives, FA 12HB-A1.

¹⁹ Lee to Hoover, February 26, 1918, The National Archives, FA 6H-A2. See Questionnaire No. 2 for Report of Federal Food Administrators, August 1, 1918, The National Archives, FA 6H-C1, for details regarding the Educational and other divisions.

²⁰ The National Archives, FA 6H-A2 and FA 6H-A3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, FA 12HB-A1.

²² Puerto Rico Food Commission, *First Annual Report*, 1917-1918, p. 25; Questionnaire No. 2 for Report of Federal Food Administrators, August 1, 1918, The National Archives, FA 6H-C1.

tions, hearings, regulations, delinquent reports, and related subjects. Two smaller series deal with licenses for bakers and for general licensees. There are record books giving summaries of 380 investigations. These have useful indexes. The file of reports from licensees amounts to nearly forty linear inches. These reports, submitted by nearly all dealers, give details about business operations and methods. There are several files of license cards of various types and some copies of provisional licenses. The original applications for licenses are among the records of the License Division of the Washington office.²³

The Food Administration of Puerto Rico achieved a notable work, which touched the life of the people in many ways and had significant results. Like other officials of the United States Food Administration those of Puerto Rico felt that they had participated in a unique and historic enterprise. On January 23, 1919, Lee wrote:

We all feel that our association with Mr. Hoover in this great work has been an experience that we would not have foregone for any other privilege. . . .²⁴

The Food Administration operated in Puerto Rico during a period of fifteen months. It educated the people in principles and methods of food conservation and enlisted the services of such different agencies as the press and the church to disseminate propaganda. It enjoined housewives to observe "meatless" and "wheatless" days. It called for the planting of "war" gardens and for increased production. It required dealers and manufacturers to obtain licenses, to conduct their affairs in accordance with rigid regulations, to report details of their business, and to welcome investigators. It regulated transportation and required export shippers to apply for tonnage space. It enlisted the services of leading citizens, prominent officials, business men, local mayors, and obscure housewives. Its papers, in which are reflected its manifold activities, invite the attention of the interested historian.

G. LEIGHTON LAFUZE.

John B. Stetson University.

²³ The National Archives, FA 37H-B1 and FA 37H-B2.

²⁴ Lee to J. W. Hallowell, January 23, 1919, The National Archives, FA 6H-A3.

MINUTES OF THE CONFERENCE ON LATIN-AMERICAN
HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIA-
TION, HELD IN NEW YORK, DECEMBER 30, 1940

The luncheon conference on Latin-American History was held on Monday, December 30, 1940, in the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, with the President of the Conference, Professor Dana G. Munro, Princeton University, presiding.

The principal feature of the occasion was an address, illustrated by slides, on "Archaeology and History in the Valley of Mexico" given by Dr. George C. Vaillant of the American Museum of Natural History. After explaining that the work is still in an exploratory stage, Dr. Vaillant commented on the good series of historical records showing the development of Indian culture that are available in Mexico. Speaking of the reconstruction of the temple at Tenayuca Dr. Vaillant spoke of the significance of the six different constructions found there and then passed on to discuss the work of the Toltecs, referring to the superb pottery, the figurines showing the evolution of religious ideas, the calendar and the symbolic writing of these people. Their religious centre at Teotihuacán he mentioned as giving the impression of a unified culture and religion. He discussed at some length the relation of the lava flow to the culture of Teotihuacán and spoke of the time chart between history and archaeology in relation to the people of this area.

The presiding officer in behalf of the group warmly thanked Dr. Vaillant for his interesting address.

At the business meeting which followed the luncheon the Nominating Committee, consisting of Professors Whitaker, R. Hill and A. C. Wilgus brought in the following slate of officers for the ensuing year: Chairman, Professor I. J. Cox, Northwestern University; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Vera Brown Holmes, Smith College: members to serve with the Chairman and the Secretary-Treasurer as a General Committee, Professor F. Hoffmann of the University of Colorado and Professor J. M. Espinosa of Loyola University. The slate was accepted and the ballot cast.

In presenting the report of the Nominating Committee, Professor Whitaker stated that it was the opinion of the Committee that the acceptance by the parent association of the plan of rotating the annual meetings between the three cities of Washington, New York and Chicago would soon necessitate a change in the practice of placing on the General Committee only persons resident in or near the city where the

annual meeting was being held, but that for the time being the Committee was not proposing the change.

Professor Wilgus made a plea for further orders for the Dr. James A. Robertson Memorial volume.

Steps to have the name of the Conference on Latin-American History appear on the cover of the program for the annual meeting would, it was promised, be taken for next year.

The meeting adjourned at 3 p. m.

Respectfully submitted,

VERA BROWN HOLMES,
Secretary-Treasurer of the Conference
on Latin-American History.

OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS TO WORK WITH THE INTER-AMERICAN INDIAN INSTITUTE

A Division of Inter-American Coöperation in the Office of Indian Affairs has recently been announced. Through it collaboration will be maintained with administrators of public services to Indians and with Indian scholars in other American republics, and with the Inter-American Indian Institute, which has previously been established in Mexico City pursuant to action taken at the First Inter-American Conference on Indian Life held in Pátzcuaro, Mexico, during 1940.

The new activity is being financed until June 30, 1942, by an allocation of funds received from the office of Nelson A. Rockefeller, Coördinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics. It will function under the guidance of a policy committee consisting of Oscar L. Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Chairman; Laurence Duggan, of the Department of State, and M. L. Wilson, of the Department of Agriculture.

The Division of Inter-American Coöperation will establish contact with officials of other countries concerned with the administration of Indian Affairs, will publish monographs in Spanish dealing with aspects of Indian administration in the United States, and will work with learned societies and scholars in the development and coördination of studies which will contribute to a better understanding of the problems of the 30,000,000 Indians throughout the Western Hemisphere.

The Office will work in close coöperation with the Inter-American Indian Institute which has been provisionally created, and serves as a medium for collaboration of governments and interested citizens in the social, economic, educational, and health problems common to the

Indians in the Americas. An international agreement awaiting ratification by the several American republics establishes the Inter-American Indian Institute as a permanent body financed by the signatory governments and calls for the creation of collaborative agencies in each country. It has been signed by Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, the United States, Venezuela, Cuba, El Salvador, Honduras, and Mexico, and has been ratified by the four latter countries.

Pending additional ratifications, the Institute is functioning on a provisional basis. John Collier, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is a member of the Provisional Executive Committee, and the Provisional Director of the Institute is Dr. Moisés Sáenz, who is now the Mexican ambassador to Peru.

ADDITIONAL COUNCILS TO THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

Five more of the twenty-one councils proposed have now been established by the Inter-American Development Commission in its program for stimulation of trade among the American republics. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Coördinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, is chairman of the Development Commission. The new councils are the fifth to the ninth to be established.

The fifth, the Chilean Council, is headed by Guillermo del Pedregal. The other members include: Hernán Videla Lira, Vice-Chairman, Luis Anibal Barrios, Gaston de Goyeneche, Alberto Cabero, and Carlos Campbell del Campo, all important figures in the business and political work of Chile. The first meeting was held in Santiago.

The sixth, the Bolivian Council, is composed of Jesús Lozada, Chairman, Carlos Guachalla, Vice-Chairman, René Gutiérrez Guerra, Alfonso Juárezgui, Carlos Montes, René Ballivián, and Emilio Díaz Romero, all well-known personages. La Paz was the scene of the initial meeting.

The seventh, the Peruvian Council, is headed by Benjamín Roca and is composed of Héctor Boza, Vice-Chairman, Alfredo Ferreyros, Augusto Maurer, and Carlos Alayza, all prominent in governmental or business circles. The first meeting was held in Lima.

The eighth, the Colombian Council, is made up of Mariano Roldán, Chairman, Roberto Michelsen, Vice-Chairman, Luis Soto del Corral, Cipriano Restrepo Jaramillo, Rafael Obregón, Gabriel Durana Camacho, and Camilo Villa Carrasquilla, representing the banking, engi-

neering, manufacturing, and governmental professions. Plans have been completed and the first meeting was held at Bogotá.

The ninth, the Ecuadoran Council, is headed by Antonio Quevedo, with Juan Marcos as Vice-Chairman. Other members include: Carlos Freile Larrea, Clemente Yerovi, Enrique Coloma Silva, and L. Neftalí Ponce, for the most part bankers or governmental officials. The completed council held its initial meeting in Quito.

The Inter-American Development Commission was organized by the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, which was the outgrowth of the Conference of Panama. The Development Commission was established to stimulate the increase of non-competitive imports from Central and South America to the United States, to increase trade between Central and South American countries, and to encourage development of industry in Central and South America with particular regard to the production of consumer goods. Previous to the action by Chile, councils had been organized in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

INTER-AMERICAN TRAVEL COMMITTEE

An Inter-American Travel Committee has been formed, the board of directors of which is composed of J. W. Chapman, Vice-President of the Grace Line; A. V. Moore, President of the Moore-McCormack lines; J. J. Kelleher, Vice-President of the United Fruit Company; C. H. C. Pearsall, Vice-President of the Atlantic Gulf and West Indies Steamship Lines; V. E. Chenea, Vice-President and General Traffic Manager of the Pan-American Airways.

The Inter-American Travel Committee plans through advertising in the larger daily newspapers of the American republics to show the great possibilities of inter-American travel. Recent reductions in travel rates have been made for teachers and students to facilitate inter-American travel.

REPRESENTATIVES OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK IN THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS VISIT THE UNITED STATES

Directors and representatives of seventeen schools of social work in eleven of the American republics arrived in New York in June to spend a month in study, observation, and consultation with leaders of social work in the United States. They also attended the National Conference of Social Work held in Atlantic City.

The visitors came to this country at the invitation of the Executive Committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Welfare Work of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. Arrangements were made by the Office of the Coördinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State, and the Children's Bureau. Invitations were conveyed through the diplomatic missions.

The following were invited to participate:

Argentina

Dr. Estela Meguira, professor in the Escuela de Servicio Social del Museo Social Argentino, and head of the social service department of the Juvenile Court of Buenos Aires.

Señorita Marta Ezeurra, member of the Board of Governors and professor in the Escuela de Asistencia Social of Buenos Aires.

Bolivia

Dr. Oscar Camacho Melean, Director of the Escuela de Servicio Social of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Social Welfare. Dr. Camacho Melean is an authority on tuberculosis and a specialist in child welfare.

Brazil

Senhorita Helena Iracy Junqueira, Director of the Escola de Serviço Social of São Paulo.

Senhorita Stella de Faro, President of the League of Brazilian Women and a member of the National Council of Social Service of Brazil.

Senhora Theresita M. Porto da Silveira, Director of the Escola Técnica de Serviço Social.

Senhorita Ruth Barcellos, Assistant Superintendent of the Ana Nery School of Nursing.

Chile

Señora Luz Tocornal de Romero, Director of the Escuela de Servicio Social de la Junta de Beneficencia in Santiago.

Señorita Rebecca Yzquierdo, Director of the Escuela de Servicio Social "Elvira Matte de Cruchaga" in Santiago.

Colombia

Señora María Carulla de Vergara, founder and Director of the Escuela de Servicio Social of the College of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bogotá.

Ecuador

Dr. Emilio Uzcátegui, Director of the Escuela de Visitadoras Sociales in Quito and former member of the Ecuadoran Congress.

Mexico

Dr. Manuel Gual Vidal of the school of social work under the auspices of the Faculty of Law of the University of Mexico.

Dr. Julia Nava de Ruisanchez, Director of the social workers school of the Ministry of Education.

Paraguay

Señora Inez Baena de Fernández, Director of the Escuela Polivalente de Visitadoras de Higiene in Asunción.

Peru

Señorita Francisca Paz Soldán, Associate Director of the Escuela de Servicio Social del Peru in Lima.

Uruguay

Señorita Hortensia Salterain, Director of the Escuela del Servicio Social del Uruguay in Montevideo.

Venezuela

Señora Luisa A. de Vegas, Director of the Escuela de Servicio Social of the Ministry of Public Health in Caracas.

TRAVELING EXHIBITIONS OF UNITED STATES PAINTINGS

Three groups of paintings by contemporary artists of the United States are being sent on tours of Central and South America in June. The three groups, comprising more than 200 oil- and 100 water-colors, were assembled at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

The first exhibition has been scheduled for the East Coast of South America, opening in Buenos Aires at the end of June. After shows at Rosario, Argentina, and Montevideo, Uruguay, it will stop at Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in Brazil. The second group was opened in Mexico City. From there it will go to Santiago, Chile, for a September opening in conjunction with the Festival of the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the founding of Santiago. After Santiago, this exhibition will be shown in Lima, Peru, and Quito, Ecuador. The third group opened in Bogotá, Colombia, on July 20 and will go from there to Caracas, Venezuela, and Havana, Cuba.

A special handbook, *Contemporary painting in the United States*, has been prepared to accompany the exhibitions. Waldo Frank has written the preface, while Mrs. Helen Appleton Read has contributed an introduction and critical survey of painting in the United States. Also included in the handbook are five color reproductions, 130 half-tone plates, biographical notes, and a bibliography. Twenty-five thousand copies of the catalogue have been printed in Spanish and five thousand in Portuguese.

Preliminary arrangements for the itineraries and the shows in the leading museums of the other American republics were made by Grace L. McCann Morley, director of the San Francisco Museum of Art. As special representative and consultant to the Committee on Art, Dr. Morley visited the capitals and key cities of all the countries in January, February, and March of this year. Of especial assistance to Dr. Morley in her preliminary survey were: Gustavo Santos, of Colombia, Countess Cuevas de Vera, of Argentina, Domingo Santa Cruz, Carlos Humeros, and Eugenio Pereira Salas, of Chile.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF STUDENTS FROM LATIN AMERICA IN THE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930-1941

According to statistics released by the Department of State, 9203 students from the other American republics have been enrolled in American colleges and universities during the period 1930-1941. In 1930-1931, the peak influx of the pre-depression years, there were: from Mexico, 325; from the Antilles, 179; from Central America, 215; from South America, 336, making a total of 1041. From 1931 to 1935 the number steadily declined until there were but 601 in all enrolled in the colleges and universities of the United States. After 1935 the number of students again increased until there were 1421 for the school year 1940-1941, as compared to 1262 for the year previous. The analysis by area for 1940-41 was: Mexico, 257, still not equal to the 1930-31 level; the Antilles, 341; Central America, 279; and South America, 544. Much of the present increase in Hispanic-American students is traceable to the policies inaugurated by the Department of State in the recent years.

VISITORS FROM HISPANIC AMERICA

The following well-known personages visited the United States during the last quarter:

Jeptha B. Duncan, Rector of the National University of Panama;
Centeno Güell, Director of the Escuela de Enseñanza Especial of
San José, Costa Rica;

Raúl Maestri Arredondo, economist and Assistant Director of the
Diario de la Marina, Havana, Cuba;

Carlos Salamanca, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Cochabamba, Bolivia, and member of the Bolivian House of Deputies;

Roberto Prudencio, historian and Professor of Economic Science at the University of La Paz, Bolivia, and also a member of the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies;

Senhor Sergio Buarque de Hollanda, an official of the Brazilian Ministry of Education, writer, and chief of the Publications Section of the Instituto do Livro of Rio de Janeiro.

PROFESSIONAL NOTES

Gaston Litton has received an appointment as Librarian of the University of Panama. Mr. Litton left for his new position in June. Most of the arrangements were made through the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State. Until his appointment to the University of Panama, Mr. Litton was a member of the staff of The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Dr. James F. King, now of the Department of State, goes to Northwestern University in September as a member of the Department of History. He succeeds Professor I. J. Cox, who is retiring.

Dr. Philip Powell, who recently received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California, is now with the Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State.

Gregory Crampton, of the University of California, will spend the coming year in Bolivia and Peru, as a Rockefeller Foundation traveling fellow. He will be doing field and archival research in Potosí and other old mining centers of the colonial era. Dr. Ione Stussy Wright, who recently received her Ph.D. degree from the University of California, will spend the next few months in Mexico doing research on Early Maritime Voyages on the Pacific. Miss Martine Emert is recipient of a pre-doctoral fellowship from the University of California, and will spend some months studying early maritime records in Venezuela, Colombia, and other Caribbean countries.